ROUTLEDGE ADVANCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY

Famine Irish and the American Racial State

Peter D. O'Neill

ROUTLEDGE

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Accounts of Irish racialization in the United States have tended to stress Irish difference. *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* takes a different stance. This interdisciplinary, transnational work uses an array of cultural artifacts, including novels, plays, songs, cartoons, government reports, laws, sermons, memoirs, and how-to manuals to make its case. It challenges the claim that the Irish "became white" in the United States, showing that the claim fails to take into full account the legal position of the Irish in the nineteenth-century US state—a state that deemed the Irish "white" upon arrival. The Irish thus not only fitted into the US racial state; they helped to form it. Till now, little heed has been paid to the state's role in the Americanization of the Irish or to the Irish role in the development of US state institutions. Distinguishing American citizenship from American nationality, this volume journeys to California to analyze the means by which the Irish gained acceptance in both categories at the expense of the Chinese. Along the way, it contests ideas that have taken hold within American studies. One is the notion that the Roman Catholic Church operated outside of the power structure of the nineteenth-century United States. On the contrary, *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* argues that the Irish-led corporate Catholic Church became deeply imbricated in US state structures. Its final chapter discusses a radical, transnational Irish tradition that offers a glimpse at a post-national future.

Peter D. O'Neill is an assistant professor in the Comparative Literature Department at the University of Georgia.

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To Diane and Tiernan

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Permissions

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Introduction

Famine Irish and the American Racial State

Christmas Eve 1861 found John Joseph Hughes well away from any place he had ever called home.[1] In a gilded palace near the Arc de Triomphe, he urged the emperor and empress of France to help his country. Hughes's demurrer, "I have no right to speak for America," belied the very reason for his audience. Some months earlier, he had been in Washington, D.C., to confer with the Cabinet of President Abraham Lincoln. Although advanced in age and wracked with rheumatism, Hughes had accepted an appointment as a special US envoy, charged with defusing Confederate efforts to win Europe's support in the Civil War. Thus he had booked a stateroom on the *SS Africa* for the two-week easterly voyage that transported him to the sovereign powers in Paris, and Rome, a Catholic American for Catholic Europe. His traveling companion and confidant, Thurlow Weed, a Protestant politician, was bound for Protestant London. Lincoln was leaving little to chance.

It was far from all this that Hughes was raised. He had been born in 1797 and worked the sodden fields of a County Tyrone townland, Annaloghan, with his large family of tenant farmers. As a young man he had emigrated, making his first transatlantic journey in mean accommodation. In America he had risen from gardener to seminarian to priest, and eventually, to his current post as archbishop of New York. The stooped and bewigged prelate who appeared before Empress Eugénie in 1861—"I am an old sailor," he told her—was the head of an urban congregation swelled by immigrants, many of them fellow Irish men, women, and children who had fled the Great Hunger of 1845–1852.[2] Combining spiritual guidance with social discipline and deft political maneuvers, Hughes had initiated the drive that would lead his flock and, indeed, the Catholic Church to full American citizenship, that is, to a citizenship defined not only by eligibility to vote in US elections but also by cultural acceptance as Americans. He had worked simultaneously for a strong Church and a strong US state, even insisting, once the Civil War erupted, that Irish Catholics make the ultimate patriotic sacrifice to the Union despite his disagreement with Northerners who condemned slavery.

That disagreement itself marked a journey. When young and poor, Hughes had expressed revulsion at the plight of persons whose ancestors had come out of Africa, crossing the Atlantic on slave ships in the centuries just before

Ireland's Famine. His was an abhorrence shared by many who had known poverty and oppression in Ireland, then a British colonial state that discriminated against Irish and Catholics alike. But with age and power, Hughes had come to put the improvement of the Irish and of Catholicism above such qualms. Put another way, he had come to accept American institutions that permitted Irish Catholics to move upward, even at the expense of groups whose skin color was seen to preclude such mobility. He urged his congregants to do the same, and many, although not all, acceded. The success of his labors is evident in Lincoln's entrustment to Hughes—an Irish-born, Roman Catholic leader who was a US patriot but not an abolitionist—of a diplomatic mission on which the Union's survival depended. Having been shaped by America's stratified state, Hughes, like many Irish immigrants in the Famine and post-Famine years, found himself helping to shape the contours of that state.

This book locates these transatlantic Irish people within the unfolding narrative of the United States of America in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is, in no small part, a narrative of race because race formed the single most important element in the construction of "Americanness." At the same time, the book does not lose sight of what Shu-mei Shih has called "the worldliness of race" (1349). Whereas racialization in America is distinguished by its own set of temporal and spatial specificities, it was not created in a vacuum and must be seen instead within the context of the colonial turn initiated by European powers at the advent of capitalism. An investigation into the transatlantic Irish affords a comparative analysis of the differing forms and methods of racialization within the context of that colonial turn.

Whereas the book relates the transformative journey of the transatlantic Irish in the long nineteenth century in general, it hones in on the Famine Irish and their offspring in particular. A definition of what I mean by "Famine Irish" is therefore necessary. I do not wish to homogenize the victims of *An Gorta Mór* (Irish for "The Great Hunger"), which was the most destructive event of nineteenth-century Europe. Those who perished in the catastrophe, as well as those who escaped it, came from a wide cross-section of Irish society—Protestant and Catholic, poor and wealthy, Northerner and Southerner, and so on.[3] Undoubtedly, though, the vast majority of those who fled and those who died were impoverished Catholics, many of whom came from the least arable lands in the western part of Ireland, often from Irish-speaking communities. It was the combination of Catholic religion, Irish ethnicity, utter poverty, and massive numbers that made this group of immigrants such a perceived threat to the racial hierarchy of the United States during the mid-nineteenth century. This group, to whom I refer as Famine Irish, thus is the focus of this book.

The numbers startle. Between 1.1 and 1.5 million Irish people died due to starvation and famine-related diseases between 1846 and 1855 out of a population of about 8.5 million at the outbreak of the disaster; an unprecedented 2.1 million people emigrated in the same period (Kenny, *American*

Irish 89). Between 1845 and 1900 the island's population was cut in half (133). The percentage of people who spoke the indigenous language, Gaelic, or Irish, fell even more steeply—according to available estimates, from as high as 50 percent of the pre-Famine population to as low as 5 percent of the 6.5 million people who remained in Ireland at the Famine's end.[4] Neither Ireland nor the United States and the other countries to which these Irish fled ever would be the same.

The Crossing

Critical to this investigation is the crossing. Paul Gilroy has defined the "Black Atlantic" crossing—from Africa to America and, in the case of intellectuals like W.E.B. Du Bois, back again—"as an intercultural and transnational formation" (ix) that defies nationalist paradigms for cultural history because of its "inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas" (xi). "Dealing equally with roots and routes," Gilroy says, "should undermine the purified appeal of Africentricism or Eurocentricisms it struggles to answer"; the Black Atlantic "is more concerned with the flows, exchanges and in-between elements . . ." (190). The same may be said of what Kevin Whelan has called the "Green Atlantic" in reference to the journeys of transoceanic proportion that brought the Irish to America.[5] These were journeys in the literal sense of the word: weeks-long voyages, often fever-ridden, often on overcrowded, unseaworthy vessels. Although I hope to show the usefulness of a comparative analysis of the Black and Green Atlantics, it must be stressed that this in no way represents a claim of equivalency. The completely dehumanizing commodification of the Middle Passage, which forms the linchpin of the Black Atlantic, would make such a claim absurd. That said, Green Atlantic crossings were journeys in the figurative sense: transitions from the position of a colonized subaltern in Ireland to that of a free subject in America, albeit one who mixes the old ways with the new. Not unlike Du Bois and the Black Atlantic, some nineteenth-century Irish Americans would recross the Green Atlantic, bringing with them hybrid ideas and allegiances. Hughes, on the *Africa*, was one.

Another was the Irish labor organizer and political activist—Scotland-born and, for almost a decade, American immigrant—James Connolly, the subject of this book's final chapter.

Irish people also crossed currents with the Black Atlantic, most notably in the person who opens Chapter 1, Frederick Douglass, whose exchanges with the Irish in Ireland and the Irish in America were markedly different. The Irish in America likewise crossed currents with other groups; in particular, the Chinese, participants in the transnational and transoceanic migration that Keith Aoki dubbed the "Yellow Pacific" (899 n.3). Early on, Chinese immigrants were viewed as free labor, Moon-Ho Jung writes. But this changed rapidly as awareness arose of the abusive conditions under which Chinese were transported to and compelled to work in America (64).

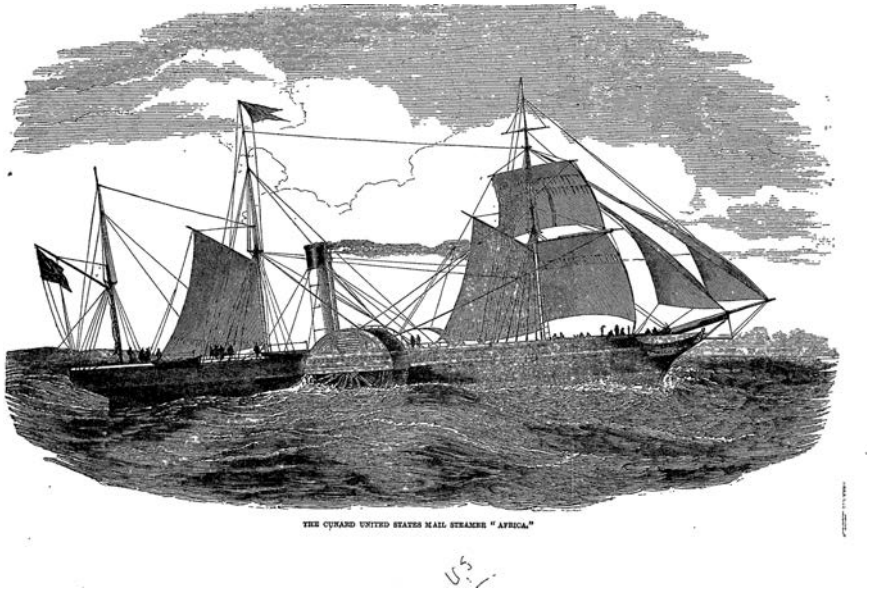

Figure 0.1 The Cunard liner *S/S Africa*. *Illustrated London News*, 1851.
Courtesy of the University of Georgia Libraries.

US trade unions and others came to speak of "coolie labor" as a means to accentuate perceived differences between the Chinese and so-called free white labor. Use of the term implied workers who were unfree and servile, a threat to the white workingman.[6]

Issues of sex and gender also came into play. In late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century California, generations of Irish women struggled to break free from a gender matrix that rendered them masculinized in opposition to feminized Chinese men, while an Irish-led Workingmen's Party sought to preserve jobs by endorsing a color line[7] that excluded the Chinese, as "yellow," yet included the Irish, as "white." In a very real sense, Famine Irish experiences in America marked a crossing from "green" to "white."

Color Lines

Irish American "whiteness" is the subject of a remarkable proliferation of scholarship in the 1990s.[8] A seminal example is *How the Irish Became White*, in which historian Noel Ignatiev argues that nineteenth-century Irish immigrants to America gained access to the benefits of whiteness over time. Such works make important contributions to understanding both of the history of racialization processes at work in the United States and of the roles the Irish played in those processes. This literature shares some shortcomings, however.

As Peter Kolchin notes, scholars of so-called whiteness studies often operate on the "assumption—sometimes asserted and sometimes unspoken—that the racism they describe is uniquely American and that American whiteness can be understood in isolation, without considering anything abroad" (170–71). Put another way, these scholars tend to ignore race's worldliness.[9]

Depiction of the Irish as "becoming white" over time implies, moreover, that there was a time when these Irish immigrants were "not white" in America. But that implication fails fully to explore law's impact on the Irish American experience. Particularly significant is the very first US law on acquiring citizenship. The Naturalization Act of 1790 provided that "any alien, being a free white person" who had resided for at least two years in the United States, "may be admitted to become a citizen thereof . . ."[10] The Irish always were understood to be among those "free white" people whom the statute was intended to benefit; as a result, nineteenth-century, foreign-born Irish entered the legal category of "whiteness" as soon as they arrived in the United States. Yet in the same period, that legal category was utterly unavailable to persons of African and Asian ancestry—even those who were US-born.[11] The conventional "becoming white" model does not grapple fully with this differential treatment. Once the fact of Irish persons' legal status as "white" is considered, the construct of "becoming white" becomes little more than a metaphor for becoming culturally acceptable, as Kolchin rightly contends (163).

I take this argument further. In my view, "becoming white" was, for the Famine-era Irish, a multilayered process. The process began with the acquisition on arrival of a legal status quite unlike the one that they had endured in British-colonized Ireland—in America they were a "free white" people automatically eligible for US citizenship and not beings whom the law treated as "nonwhite" or "not quite white."[12] But that was not the end of the matter because after they were included in the American state, Famine Irish found themselves excluded from the American nation. Ignatiev and others thus are correct in describing a long process of "becoming" in America but wrong in identifying the true nature of this process. The barriers that the Irish faced were not legal but social and cultural; what is more, the American state, whose laws gave them a foothold, also helped the Irish gain cultural acceptance as American nationals. By using US governmental and political structures to advance the status of Irish Catholics—indeed, by joining those institutions as elected officials and civil servants—these Irish attained what this book refers to as full or ideal US citizenship—that is, a citizenship that unites the cultural (nationality) with the legal (actual) citizenship. At a time when racial oppression lay at America's cornerstone, these Irish both embraced and helped to build that nation-state.

Citizenship, Nationality, Race, and Ethnicity

This book's formulation of full or ideal American citizenship evokes the closely related concepts of race, ethnicity, citizenship, and nationality. A good deal of confusion surrounds each of these terms, warranting explanation of what

I mean by them. This confusion has deep roots. In ancient Greece, "citizen" once referred to a member of the city-dwelling elite. From the late eighteenth century onward, with the rise of the modern nation-state, "citizenship" came to embody a more complex legal definition. Today, "citizenship" denotes who belongs within a state's borders and who does not. The state automatically grants certain privileges, like voting upon attainment of a requisite age, to persons it deems members of its polity. States may define such membership by right of birth (*jus soli*) and/or by right of parentage (*jus sanguinis*) (Klusmeyer and Aleinikoff 123–34). Persons defined as not-members, as "others," are denied the privileges of citizenship—perhaps forever or perhaps, as in the case of Irish immigrants to nineteenth-century America, upon fulfillment of requirements such as residency and oath taking (*1790 Naturalization Act*). What animates citizenship is the notion of "sovereignty," manifested in a state structure that provides the legal framework for the delineation of citizenship. "Citizenship," in short, refers to the legal standing of an individual vis-à-vis the state.[13] "Nationality," as I use the term,[14] connotes the commonality among citizens of a given geopolitical entity and something more: whereas "citizenship" is essentially a legal term, "nationality" encompasses cultural and social as well as legal meanings. A person thus may be a "citizen" without being considered a "national," that is, without being a member of the "nation" within the overall "nation-state." Alys Eve Weinbaum observes that from its fourteenth-century appearance in the English language, "nation" has been directly or indirectly associated with notions of "race" and "common descent," two terms also frequently subjected to conflation (164–65). In the nineteenth-century US nation-state, this conflation operated to conjoin American nationalism with American nativism. Legal standing—"citizenship"—was a necessary but not a sufficient component of American "nationality."

"Race" too is a term that others have used in multiple ways. A significant writing in the historiography of the transatlantic Irish is *The Irish Race in California and on the Pacific Coast*, published by Rev. Hugh Quigley in 1878.[15] It speaks of "race" to mean what common usage now calls "ethnicity." Confusion persists, however; not long ago, an international tribunal deciding whether mass killings in 1994 Rwanda constituted the crime of genocide was compelled to distinguish the two: defining "ethnical" to mean "a group whose members share a common language or culture," the tribunal's judgment contrasts that term with "racial," which it interprets to refer to "hereditary physical traits often identified with a geographic region, irrespective of linguistic, cultural, national, or religious factors" (qtd in Amann, "Group" 104). The judgment thus pinpoints "race" as a biological construct related to inherited characteristics like skin color or physiognomy, whereas "ethnicity" is a cultural construct, concerned with shared attributes like language, musical or storytelling tradition, history, and religion. Difficult to draw with precision, this biology/culture demarcation blurs depending on how people within a group see themselves—and also on how others see them (Amann, "Identification" 485).

Irish people living in the 1800s British colonial state in Ireland were defined primarily by assumed biology ("race").[16] On arrival in America, biology was less at play, given that these Irish were deemed "white" as a matter of law ("citizenship"). Irish "racialization"—a term that encompasses not only the narrow definition of "race" but also other traits by which a dominant group renders inferior its perceived "other"—thus became primarily a cultural construct ("ethnicity"). It was this latter construct that initially barred the immigrant Irish from American "nationality" and thus from full, or ideal, American citizenship. Cultural standing was something that the Irish were required to earn through service to the US state.

Culture and Church

To describe the challenges these Irish confronted as social and cultural is by no means to downplay those challenges. For many Irish who emigrated during and after the Famine, America meant backbreaking menial labor, subsistence living in squalid urban slums, and constant striving to educate one's children for a respectable, middle-class future. Nineteenth-century America meant insult as well as poverty: nativist groups like the Know-Nothings larded their anti-immigrant, anti-Irish polemics with the same ugly caricatures that British racists had deployed back home. Disparagements of the Irish in US nativists' speeches and in US publications like *Harper's Weekly* mirrored those to be found in Britain's *Punch* and in the purportedly scientific studies of Britons like the ethnologist John Beddoe's *The Races of Britain* (1885). On both sides of the Atlantic, the Irishman—"Paddy," or perhaps "Mike" or "Mick"—had the bearing and face of an ape, coupled with coarse speech, a lazy demeanor, a fondness for violence, and an unquenchable thirst for the drink; the Irish woman—"Bridget," or "Norah"—resembled him in looks, lifestyle, ignorance, and brawn. Such images are considered later in Chapter 5.

And not only "race," as such supposedly innate traits then were called, was at issue in this American process of Irish racialization. The Catholic religion of Irish immigrants provoked American nativist antipathy as much as, if not more than, their Irish ethnicity. This complex of fantasies added to Bridget's simian stature a blind devotion to the demands of her parish priest. Ministers, members of Congress, and other white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) elites wondered aloud whether Catholicism was at odds with assimilation.

Considerable scholarship has been directed at the transnational aspects of American Christianity. Notably, however, such scholarship tends to concentrate on the transnational dimensions of Protestantism and is largely silent on the remarkable global reach of Catholicism. This book is thus significant for its investigation of the Catholic religious dynamic in the processes of state racialization. It shows how, when menaced by anti-Catholic, nativist attacks, the American Church—in the nineteenth century, an Irish-led

institution—fought back on the same state and cultural battlegrounds from which the attacks had been launched. The Church waged its fight under the command of Archbishop Hughes and fellow disciples of the transnational doctrine of strict, hierarchical centralization known as ultramontanism. They maneuvered the Church's vote-bearing congregants to support pro-Catholic causes, such as parochial education, as well as Church-approved political candidates. They deployed the literary trope with enthusiasm, encouraging Irish Catholic intellectuals to pen novels, histories, and advice manuals not only in aid of Irish Catholic efforts to achieve cultural acceptance as American nationals but also to promote US capitalist state objectives. By elucidating this phenomenon, this book refutes conventional separations of religion and state. It shows that currents of the transnational power of the Roman Catholic Church flowed through the US state in formation. In addition, it problematizes theories—like that which Benedict Anderson outlines in his seminal work, *Imagined Communities*—that predicate the rise of the nation-state on the decline of religious empire.

The Absent Presence of the State

The Irish did not achieve ideal American citizenship all on their own, however. Lincoln's entrustment of a diplomatic mission to Hughes, at the same moment that others in the predominantly WASP establishment still were condemning both Irishness and Catholicism, serves as a symbol of US elites' seemingly contradictory treatment of Irish Catholics during the nineteenth century. In this book I theorize such inconsistencies by examining the complex nature of state power. My emphasis on the state represents another break with conventional scholarship. At one point on the scholarly spectrum, discounting of the state may be found in writings on racialization; Aoki, for instance, sees "a nation-state conception" as an impediment to analysis of contemporary dynamics of "diaspora, race, immigration law and policy, and geopolitics" (900–01). At another point on that spectrum may be found contemporary American political discourse, which invokes "government process," "political system," and more recently "homeland" as euphemisms for "state."[17] The word "state" is conspicuous by its absence. Yet the sovereign state was ever present in the Famine-era existence of Irish people on both sides of the Atlantic.

Shedding light on the existence of indigenous Irish men, women, and children in the British colonial state is the concept of "biopower" or "biopolitics," as advanced by Michel Foucault. In the *History of Sexuality*, Foucault visualizes the ancient or medieval form of sovereign power as "essentially a right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress" (*History* 136). The management of biological existence—of the life, death, health, life expectancy, and other vital aspects of a population—is what he calls "biopolitics."

Foucault discussed a related concept, governmentality, in a series of lectures given at the Collège de France between 1977 and 1978, and published in English in 2007 under the title *Security, Territory, Population*. After noting the eighteenth-century transition from "a regime dominated by structures of sovereignty to a regime dominated by techniques of government" (*Security* 106, see Figure 0.2), Foucault offers this caveat:

> So we should not see things as the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a society of discipline, and then of a society of discipline by a society, say, of government. In fact we have a triangle: sovereignty, discipline, and governmental management, which has population as its main target and apparatuses of security as its essential mechanism.
>
> (107–08)

It is this triangle that he labels

> Governmentality . . . [which is] the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument.
>
> (108)

Biopower theory lays bare the nature of the British colonial state in Ireland as well as in the American racial state: each state's existence hinged upon the exclusion of a segment of the population. By crossing the Atlantic, the subaltern Irish left one triangle of governmentality for another and in the process went from being the excluded to the excluder.

Figure 0.2 Foucault's Governmentality Triangle.

Created by author.

In America as in colonized Ireland, the biopolitical state was omnipresent. Recognizing this is legal historian William J. Novak. He traces contrary American political discourse—that is, notions of the "weak" US state—to the American exceptionalist school, which holds that the history of New World America lies outside of the history of Old World Europe and thus is free from the latter's contaminants and corruptions. "It is part of the myth of America as a place of rebirth—of American Adam emerging fresh from a veritable state of nature," Novak writes, "as John Locke mused with almost biblical cadence, 'Thus in the beginning all the World was *America*' " ("Myth" 754, original emphasis). The exceptionalist account of America's origins relies on a Lockean construct that conveniently ignores brutal realities of primitive accumulation—the destruction and enslavement of non-European peoples—in favor of a sanitized originary narrative. That narrative envisages America as a "promised land," "a city on a hill," a destination decreed through divine providence.[18] Little wonder that a mythology that views America as God's gift to humanity leaves scarce room for a man-made artifice, the state.

Scholarship that does place emphasis on the state often looks to Max Weber,[19] whose early twentieth-century essay, "Politics as a Vocation," describes the state as "that human community which within a defined territory successfully claims for itself the *monopoly of legitimate physical force*" (*Essential Weber* 131, original emphasis). Weber argues that the state "is an instrument of legitimate violence (or rather, is seen as legitimate) supporting the relationship of domination (*Herrenschaft*) of human being over human being. For a state to exist, it has to force those who are ruled to comply with the claimed authority of those actually ruling" (132). But the definition has limited utility with regard to the experiences of the Famine-era Irish in America.[20] First, Weber's equation of statehood with consolidation of the tools of violence fails adequately to describe the at-times chaotic formation of the US state, particularly in the nineteenth-century period of westward expansion in service of a proclaimed "Manifest Destiny." Manifest Destiny is, of course, the doctrine that postulates as self-evident the eventual spread—by force whenever necessary—of the US state across the vast middle of the North American continent. The concept traces to John L. O'Sullivan, an American editor whose father once prepared for the Catholic priesthood in his native Ireland. But then the father emigrated, acquired US citizenship, and pursued a career on the seas—where, on a ship off Gibraltar, the editor was born in 1813 (Sampson 1–3). This is an example of editor O'Sullivan's several references to Manifest Destiny is this 1839 writing: "In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is *destined to manifest* to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True" (O'Sullivan 427, my emphasis).[21]

In the times and places that Manifest Destiny played out, the US state enjoyed no legitimate monopoly over the means of violence; to the contrary,

it often ceded to local, independent militias and vigilante groups the right of resort to physical force. Second, to speak of the state as "an instrument" is to posit the state to be a neutral and passive tool, to claim that the state works in the service of—as an instrument of—the ruling class, notwithstanding the theoretical potential for the masses to capture and use the state for their own ends. But such an instrumentalist state theory misrepresents, or distorts, the ways states actually function. States are not static: they must evolve constantly to meet changing conditions.

The Fractional State

The idea of the state evolving according to prevailing conditions evokes the work of Nicos Poulantzas,[22] whose original and prescient analysis was also evolving at the time of his death in 1979, at age forty-three. The general neglect of state theory in subsequent decades extended to his work.[23] However, the subject has reemerged recently as a focus of inquiry, and this has sparked a reevaluation of Poulantzas.[24] Countering Weber, Poulantzas contends that the capitalist state is neither a neutral thing instrument nor a subject; in other words, it is not a completely autonomous, rational, and functional institution. Instead, he maintains, the capitalist state is a "*relationship of forces, or more precisely the material condensation of such a relationship among classes and class fractions, this is expressed within the State in a necessarily specific form*" (*State* 128–29, original emphasis).

I would like to unpack this dense statement as it contains ideas crucial to my analysis of nineteenth-century America. By the "relationship of forces," Poulantzas refers not only to the relationships between classes but also to the relationships within classes. The ruling class in any given capitalist society does not simply form a single unified bloc; rather, it fractures into segments that compete against or contradict one another. This book exposes within nineteenth-century America many such fractures—embodied in "fractions" or opposing groups or parties. It will show both that the working and middle classes were at least, if not more, fractionalized than the ruling class and that in nineteenth-century America, as in other times and places, fractionalization proved particularly noticeable around issues of race, religion, and gender.

Fractionalization spurs a state to try to concentrate power so that power may reside foremost at the top: the state negotiates with fractions operating between and within classes in order that it can maintain "the conflictual unity of the alliance in power and the unstable equilibrium of compromises among its components" (127).[25] So the state mediates between fractions of the dominant classes, forging compromises that benefit the economic interests of some of these fractions at the expense of others in the interests of political stability or equilibrium that is inherently unequal. In modifying "equilibrium" with the adjective "unstable," Raju Das maintains that Poulantzas "means the limits of the equilibrium are set by the political conjuncture, including class struggle" (75).

To function the state must enjoy what he calls "relative autonomy," that is, the supposed separation of the political and the economic specific to capitalism that facilitates the dispossession of the direct producers of the means of production from its ownership. Therefore, "relative autonomy is simply the necessary conditions for the role of the capitalist state in class representation and in the political organization of hegemony" (qtd in Thomas, "Bringing" 130; 82).[26] As Paul Thomas contends, relative autonomy thus must take different forms, each form subject to modification according to the variant needs of capitalist accumulation. Thomas stresses that a change in relative autonomy will shift the character and functions of the state: "This is to say that the institutional and ideological transformations to which the state—any state—is subject must be interpreted historically, not just definitionally" ("Bringing" 131).[27] As this book will demonstrate, this point has special pertinence when considering the rapid changes of the state in formation in nineteenth-century America.

The state thus manages the cohesion and stability of all levels of social formation to ensure the accumulation of profit by the dominant class, delivered through the reproduction of capitalist relations of production. It does so, for example, by devising and enforcing the rules of exchange through laws regarding torts, contracts, property, and so on; furthermore, the state facilitates disciplinary measures aimed at the labor force via its ideological apparatuses. Each apparatus that enforces the rules or performs state ideological functions—I will distinguish between these categories shortly—constitutes, in Poulantzian terms, a "necessarily specific form" of the relationship of forces. Such apparatuses—schools, the courts, police, and the like—are the "material" of the relationship of forces. Thus when Poulantzas writes of the material "condensation" of the relationship of forces "among classes and class fractions," according to Thomas, what he is saying is "that there is a density to the state and to what the state does, an opacity that can make it difficult to 'place' and define" ("Bringing" 130).[28] As a result, most persons are complicit in, or at least oblivious to, core functions of the state's disciplinary and educational systems.

This conceptualization of the state's relative autonomy helps explain a puzzling fact in nineteenth-century America: although the nativist fraction in the ruling elite bitterly condemned the Famine Irish, another fraction welcomed them. President Lincoln was in the latter group. So too manufacturers, developers, and financiers; driving their welcome were the demands of capital. In service of the latter fraction's interests, the state desired labor—not just labor but "free white labor"—and every Irish man or woman, having been designated by law "a free white person," belonged to this desired workforce.[29]

The complicity of workers and others in an unequal state is precisely how hegemony operates. "Hegemony" and indeed "unstable equilibrium" are

concepts that Poulantzas derives from the early twentieth-century writings of Antonio Gramsci. In *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci defines hegemony as the

> spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.
>
> (12)

To explain the phenomenon of mass consent to state-imposed controls on social life, Gramsci distinguishes between the state and civil society. The state operates as direct domination through the enforcement of legally codified discipline by state-organized entities like the police, courts, and prisons. These are, to borrow Louis Althusser's label, "Repressive State Apparatuses."[30] But the locus of hegemony is civil society, "commonly called private" (Gramsci 12).[31] Civil society comprises entities like churches, law, schools, the media, cultural organizations, political parties, and trade unions. Again to borrow an Althusserian label, they are "Ideological State Apparatuses."[32] As this book will show, in nineteenth-century America, the Irish populated both the state and civil society apparatuses with alacrity, winning seats in government at all levels, agitating in trade unions and other non-state organizations, and entering the civil service as police officers, prison wardens, firefighters, and schoolteachers.

Corporate Catholic Church: American Corporate State

This book pays particular attention to a certain ideological state apparatus, the church—to be precise, the Roman Catholic Church. It views the church as a manifestation of what Joshua Barkan calls *corporate sovereignty*. Barkan observes that corporations bear striking similarities to states: both use consensual and coercive disciplinary methods to establish and maintain order both internally and externally across places and territories in which they operate. Invoking Giorgio Agamben's concept of ban or exclusion,[33] Barkan asserts, "corporate sovereignty emerges from and is exercised over the border between inside and outside of constitutional political spheres" (8). "Modern state sovereignty," Barkan writes, "is *founded in* and *anchored to* a figure of the corporate political body. Likewise, modern corporate power *emerges from* and *mobilizes* apparatuses of sovereignty, discipline, and government" (6, original emphasis). Agamben's focus is bare life; Barkan's, a legal person. That legal person, the corporation, exists formally outside the state yet is permitted "to function as a mode of sovereignty that emerged in conjunction with modern nation-states and has been particularly effective in governing populations under liberal forms of rule" (8). Barkan's analysis

prompts reminders that the Roman Catholic Church is the world's largest multinational corporation, and as the forthcoming Chapter 2 demonstrates, it played a pivotal role in the development of state structures of power, achieved not only through pontifications from the pulpit but also through the promotion of two other key ideological state apparatuses: schools and the family. As we shall see, the promotion of these latter two vehicles of hegemony[34] occurred in no small part via another crucial ideological state apparatus, the vast body of Irish American Catholic literature, both fictional and nonfictional, whose examination in later chapters of this book will illuminate further the intimate relationship between literary production and capitalist state objectives.

Racial States

Race helps bind the fractional state together. Indeed, David Theo Goldberg, among others, argues that race is integral to the rise of the modern nation-state. Racial orders have existed for centuries;[35] nevertheless, the emergence of the modern state also gave rise to systematic institutionalization of racism on a scale never seen before. Goldberg concludes that the modern state is a racial state operating within a racial world order (104). The racial state, according to this view, manifests itself both externally and internally.

In their influential book *Racial Formation in the United States*, Michael Omi and Howard Winant investigate the racist foundations of the United States. They recognize—yet undertheorize—the state's role in racialization processes. Omi and Winant stress that "the state *is* inherently racial . . . the preeminent site of racial conflict" (82, original emphasis). Pointing to the 1790 naturalization law quoted at the outset of this chapter, they argue that for most of its existence, the United States has been a "racial dictatorship" (66). Borrowing Gramsci's image of "unstable equilibrium," they acknowledge that the US racial order has undergone periods of disruption (84, 85). "The transition from a racial dictatorship to a racial democracy has been a slow, painful, and contentious one; it remains far from complete" (66).

Like many of his contemporaries on the left, Poulantzas never considered race or racism in his work. Even so, I maintain, the idea of the US racial state is a clear instantiation of his theory. Poulantzas's notion of the fractional, negotiated state—considered alongside the previously discussed concepts of Foucault and Gramsci—aids explanation of ostensible contradictions. Invocation of race and ethnicity is a principal means by which claims on the US state, through the relationship of forces, are made.[36] Whereas the fundamental role of the state is to facilitate the accumulation of capital by the ruling class, disjuncture between interests of state and capital is not uncommon, particularly when race enters the mix.

Catholicism and other aspects of Irishness would make difficult the voyage to full citizenship, that is, to full cultural, as well as legal, recognition as Americans. Yet these Famine Irish already had covered a great distance

in their navigation of two racial states, located on either side of the Atlantic Ocean. Specifically, they had navigated the British colonial state, which ruled Ireland throughout the nineteenth century, and still were navigating the United States of America, then a state in formation during this period. Aided by shrewd leaders such as Archbishop Hughes and a whole host of Irish American Catholic writers whom he inspired, the Irish colonized US state structures and political machines and took full advantage of the fractionalized racial state.

The US State in Formation

The United States of America was born of a successful revolt against British colonization. But as a fledging, the republic teetered: beyond its borders, the United States was barely recognized by foreign powers; within its borders, the unity of purpose that had brought US victory in 1783 soon gave way to a Poulantzian struggle for state power. Querulous ruling elites tended to fractionalize into Federalists or Republicans. The Federalist camp, led mainly by New Englanders and city dwellers, attracted persons who favored a centralized government endowed with legitimacy and authority. At the head of the rival camp were Southerners, slaveholders, and farmers—Republicans, sometimes also called Democratic-Republicans to distinguish them from the Republican Party of this century. This camp drew in persons who feared central government overreach and thus preferred the decentralization of power and the bolstering of local authorities (Jacobs et al.; Freeman 22).

Even in these early days, immigration played a role in US politics. The US polity once had been relatively small and homogenous, dominated by white, male elites whose authority derived from arcane notions of character. But with each new wave of European immigrants—as many as a quarter-million persons, from various English- and non-English-speaking countries alike, entered between 1783 and 1815—the polity increased in size and diversity.[37] Debates raged on the meaning of US democracy—centering on the question of "precisely how democratic a republic America should be" (Freeman 20). Complicating discussion was the egalitarian fervor unleashed by the 1789 storming of the Bastille and the French Revolution that ensued. In the nascent United States, ruling elites endeavored to maintain the state's unstable equilibrium; that is, to figure out what forms of governmentality would facilitate the elite class's accumulation of wealth and simultaneously ensure the biopolitical management of the population.

On March 26, 1790, Congress passed a statute that to borrow Poulantzas's words, effected "the conflictual unity of the alliance in power and the unstable equilibrium of compromises among its components" (*State* 127). Titled "An Act to establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization," it decreed

> that any alien, being a free white person, who shall have resided within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States for the term of

> two years, may be admitted to become a citizen thereof, on application to any common law court of record, in any one of the states wherein he shall have resided for the term of one year at least, and making proof to the satisfaction of such court, that he is a person of good character, and taking the oath or affirmation prescribed by law, to support the constitution of the United States, which oath or affirmation to such court shall administer; and the clerk of such court shall record such application, and the proceedings thereon; and thereupon such person shall be considered as a citizen of the United States.
>
> (*1790 Naturalization Act*)

The statute extended America's welcome not only to the "free white person" but also to his progeny: "And the children of such persons so naturalized, dwelling within the United States, being under that age of twenty-one years at the time of such naturalization, shall also be considered as citizens of the United States" (*1790 Naturalization Act*). By excluding from all hope of naturalization anyone who was not a "free white person"—that is, by equating freedom with whiteness—the statute racialized liberty. Whether a person ever could be included in the US citizenry was to depend on whether the elites saw him or her as "white."

Eight years after the enactment of this naturalization law, the appearance at American ports of United Irishmen fleeing their failed 1798 Irish rebellion stoked US anti-immigrant anxieties: these aliens' fondness for *liberté, fraternité*, and *égalité* rendered them no less suspect among US Federalists than they had been among the British back home. The erstwhile rebels' arrival, along with the Federalists' desire to silence rabble-rousing Republican opponents, spurred repressive legislation. The Alien and Sedition Acts authorized the second US president, the Federalist John Adams, to deport noncitizens deemed dangers to the state. Notwithstanding the recent adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution, the acts also empowered Adams to restrict speech and the press.[38] Opposition to these measures contributed to the election of a Republican president, Thomas Jefferson, in 1801—the same year that Parliament in Britain passed the Act of Union that abolished the Irish Parliament and brought Ireland under direct rule from Westminster.

The advent of Democratic-Republicanism marked a turn in the governmentality of the US state. The Federalists' defeat hindered processes of centralization, conventionally viewed as essential to the consolidation of sovereign power, discipline, and governmental management. Through developments like the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1818 treaty acquiring Florida, Republicans continued to expand US territory.[39] Nevertheless, they also continued to argue against centralization. Recalling the British colonial system that Americans had overthrown, Republicans asserted that a centralized US government would become arbitrary; accordingly, they allowed regional and local interests to compete with federal interests. This sharing of governmental power found support in the US Constitution: Articles I,

II, and III divide federal power among the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches, while the Ninth and Tenth Amendments reserve, for the people and the constituent US states, all powers not conferred upon the federal branches.

The 1828 presidential election ushered in a new era of politics. The incumbent—New Englander John Quincy Adams, son of John Adams—lost to Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, a slaveholding war hero of Scots-Irish ancestry.[40] "Jacksonian Democracy" was the name given to a loose affiliation of disparate fractions united around notions of white supremacy. This affiliation can only be understood when considered in conjunction with the rapid industrialization of the Northeastern states and the uncertainty of Southern plantation owners generated by the growing opposition to slavery within the (Whig) Democratic-Republican Party. Jacksonian Democrats allied those Southerners with urban workers anxious to assert their whiteness in the face of competition from Blacks and Asians. Irish immigrants, the largest of the urban groups, embraced the new "spoils system," defined by Theodore Allen as "the egregious exploitation of political jobbery and systematic patronage" (1: 185). Race was the cement that united many disparate groups in the US state. Party leaders looked down upon the newcomers' Catholicism yet recognized the necessity of including these Irish within their ranks—to vote, to police the political arena, and bolster white America.[41]

Over time the fractious nature of the American relationship of forces served to obscure the role of the state in US development. Yet as Novak rightly argues, that role was essential; the state was an indispensable engine for capitalist development throughout US history. Novak maintains that the tradition of a "well-regulated society" found expression at municipal, county, regional, and state levels of government and thus constituted "a remarkable and previously neglected record of governmental aspiration and practice" (*People's* 1). This local governmentality manifested in the establishment of region-specific repressive apparatuses. Exercising sovereign power reserved to them by the Tenth Amendment, subnational states implemented laws that governed matters as varied as elections, taxes, marriage, education, and the hiring of state police and militias (*Peoples* 13).

Into this fractional state in formation sailed the Famine Irish, fresh from fractional Ireland. When compared to the US, the British colonial regime featured a fairly unified dominant class, but further down the scale, tensions and fissures among competing fractions in Irish society—primarily between those who accepted the British colonial rule and those who resisted it—frequently turned into violent conflict. The resultant need among Irish nationalists for clandestine organization required the adoption of skills that would prove useful in the fractionalized American racial state. This monograph investigates not only the application of such skills, but also the various means by which the US state provided the Irish the structures that enabled them to join the great white monolith. Such matters, though, would have

been far from the mind of the average Irish subsistence farmer in 1845, the year the potato crop began to show worrisome signs.

Biopolitics: The British Colonial State in Ireland and Its "Redundant Population"

No vegetable has been afforded greater historical significance than the humble spud. In his famous 1776 treatise on political economy, *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith praised the potato as a prodigious source of vitality: "No food can afford a more decisive proof of its nourishing quality, or of its being particularly suitable to the health of the human constitution (161). Yet the mighty potato had its detractors, not the least of them Thomas Malthus[42] and others among the post-Smith practitioners of political economy, a discipline that aspired to apply science to human activity. Endeavoring to win the potato debate that raged from the 1790s to the 1830s, these political economists even deployed anthropomorphization as a polemical tactic. In their essay "The Potato in Materialist Imagination," Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt write that "anxieties about the tuber generally sprout from this quick transition, from the perception of the potato's primeval, archaic power to conjure people right out of the ground" (111). Preferred was wheat: golden, sun-kissed stalks whose consumption depended on the refinements of harvesting, threshing, milling, mixing, kneading, and baking. Contrasted with brown and lumpish potatoes that went straight from subterranean reaches to peasants' mouths, wheat was a sophisticated, modern beauty.

Evidence of preference for blond wheat over brown spud may be found in a letter that British Treasury official Charles Trevelyan wrote to *The Times* in 1847, the worst year of the Famine. Referring to grains like wheat as "corn," in the English fashion of the day, Trevelyan justified the limiting of relief from starvation on the grounds that it would hasten a necessary dietary shift: "The change from an idle barbarous isolated potato cultivation, to corn cultivation, which frees industry, and binds together employer and employee in mutually beneficial relations . . . requires capital and a new class of men" (qtd in Kinealy, *Calamity* 182). Gallagher and Greenblatt remark, "[T]he potato represented a presocial state of isolation in which the poor were cut off from civilization and undifferentiated both from each other and from nature. The English had a word for this state: Ireland" (114). It is almost as if these plants, no less than the peoples they were deemed to represent, had become racialized.

These racialized overtones coincided with a Victorian fixation that attributed a biological source—a race—to traits that today would be seen as cultural constructs.[43] "Race is everything: literature, science, art, in a word, civilization, depend upon it," the Scottish ethnologist Robert Knox wrote in 1850 (qtd in Kaplan 51). Meanwhile, Irish simianization—the likening of the Irish to apes—was evolving. Just after the Famine, for example, an English

minister wrote to his wife about "the human chimpanzees" he saw while traveling in Ireland (qtd in Kaplan 54). Alluding to the "White-Negroes" notion propagated by British historian Thomas Carlyle,[44] the letter extends the simian analogy to persons of African ancestry: the minister comments that "to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours" (qtd in Kaplan 54).

Further assailed as premodern, savage, and uncivilized were the ways of life in the West of Ireland. By 1800, the potato fed the small farmer year-round (Whelan, "Pre and Post-Famine" 19–20). Reliance on potatoes in turn generated both a steep population increase and the increase in subdivision of landholdings. Cottiers farmed their small plots using the lazy bed, a spade-based, labor-intensive method of cultivation that "tripled the yield over ploughing" (Whelan "Pre- and Post-Famine" 22). These rural cottage dwellers also served as cheap labor on large farms that often paid them in kind, that is, in potatoes. They lived communally according to the *clachan* or rundale system, derived from Gaelic culture (23). Alien to the English, their lifestyle came "to symbolize the irrationality of Irish ways to colonial improvers oblivious to the actual inventiveness and sophistication of its practices" (Lloyd, *Irish Culture* 21).

On the eve of the Famine, Ireland's ever-growing population of 8 million or more accounted for nearly a third of the United Kingdom's total population—an accounting that triggered alarm. "[T]he land in Ireland is infinitely more peopled than in England," Malthus wrote to his fellow political economist, David Ricardo, in 1817.[45] Labeling the Irish subaltern class a "redundant population," Malthus cautioned, "to give the full effect to the natural resources of the country a great part of the population should be swept from the soil" (qtd in Mokyr 38). Yet economic historian Joel Mokyr's 1983 survey of European countries finds "no evidence that prefamine Ireland was overpopulated in any useful sense of the word" (64).[46] David Lloyd elaborates on Malthus's real dilemma:

> [T]he problem of Ireland was paradoxically not scarcity, but *abundance*: abundance of population and abundance of the means to support that population, an abundance notoriously supplied by the potato. It is the specter of abundance, rather than distress, that haunts political economy and makes Irish conditions a scandal in theory and a nightmare for practical policy. In that sense, the event of the Famine is a godsend not only to the administrator but to the theorists too . . .
>
> ("Political Economy" 316; original emphasis)

Lloyd's reference to "a godsend" is not happenstance. The more that Ireland's actual abundance undermined Malthus's economic theories of collapse, the more Malthus tied economy to morality. His 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population*, an amalgam of evangelical and conservative

thought, thus looked to providence to solve the problems of capitalism. Malthus campaigned against the poor laws not because the workhouses they established were hellish but rather because they enabled the poor to survive; in Malthus's own words, "they spread the general evil over a much larger surface" (94). Welfare tends to "increase population without increasing the food for its support," Malthus argued; furthermore, "the quantity of provisions consumed in workhouses upon the part of the society that cannot in general be considered as the most valuable part diminishes the share that would otherwise belong to more industrious and more worthy members . . ." (97). Malthus's preferred alternative was starvation, which along with "hard labour and unwholesome habitations, must operate as a constant check to incipient population" (103). Susan Buck-Morss traces to Malthus "the whole notion of the economy as a self-regulating sphere of material life that can be considered as separate from political practice" (57). For it was he who proclaimed that scarcity "provides natural restraints on the population and keeps the economy in balance by its own internal bio-mechanism" (57).

Uniting divine and state authority in his theories—a unification that corresponded to the British Reformation's joinder of church and state[47]—Malthus affirmed famine, pestilence, and poverty as God's blessings on a population unable to manage its own growth. In colonialist discourse the suffering was caused not by English colonization of the Irish but rather by the Irish themselves. In effect, the British colonial state racialized Irish poverty. And in this reliance on race for its "conceptual and institutional emergence" (Goldberg 4), the British reinforced the status of colonized Ireland as a racial state.

Notwithstanding Britons' blaming of the Irish, the fact is that when Ireland's staple food crop failed in 1845, the British colonial government controlled the island and thus nearly every aspect of what thereafter transpired. "The Irish poor did not starve because there was an inadequate supply of food within the country," Christine Kinealy writes; rather, "they starved because political, commercial and individual greed was given priority over the saving of lives in one part of the United Kingdom" (*Great Irish* 116).

The Malthusian brew of divine laissez-faire economics enhanced this prioritization. "It is useless to disguise the truth that any great improvement in the social system of Ireland must be founded upon an extensive change in the present state of agrarian occupation," asserted Henry John Temple, the Cabinet member then known as Lord Palmerston and later as Britain's prime minister (qtd in Delaney 228). He added: "[T]his change necessarily implies a long continued and systematic ejectment of Small Holders and Squatting Cottiers" (qtd in Delaney 228).[48] Treasury's Trevelyan, the man in charge of what food came into and left Ireland, cast his pious eyes towards the heavens and discerned "a bright shining light shining through the dark cloud which at present hangs over Ireland" (qtd in Gray, "Ideology" 93).[49]

It is tempting to blame the Great Hunger on nature, on a naturally occurring plant disease. But as Nobel Prizewinning economist Amartya Sen has demonstrated, famines do not simply happen; to the contrary, they are the

product of human agency.[50] That insight compels an examination of British colonial practices that established the conditions that enabled Ireland's ruination. During the years of the Famine, the island produced enough food for its people yet could not feed them for the reason that Irish grains, livestock, and produce were sent to the England of Queen Victoria (Woodham-Smith 123; Kinealy, *Calamity* 343). How and why that occurred remain controversial questions. Many historians tack between two poles—one argument that minimizes the colonial state's responsibility and a contrary argument that asserts the British policy was simply genocidal.[51]

The debate over genocide[52] reignited by the 2012 publication of *The Famine Plot: England's Role in Ireland's Greatest Tragedy* has been divisive. Author Tim Pat Coogan's indictment of the British government during the Famine, although not entirely without merit, is a sloppy work. Worse, the furor his book stirred distracts from excellent contemporaneous publications: monographs by David Nally, Enda Delaney, Ciarán Ó Murchada, and John Kelly, as well as *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*, a compendium of essays edited by John Crowley, Willie Smyth, and Mike Murphy.[53] These works establish the great Irish Famine not as a governmental failure but rather as a governmental success carefully controlled and monitored. Like canny shopkeepers executing an inventory after a bumper clearance sale, Britain, Disraeli's famous "nation of shopkeepers,"[54] itemized the Famine's impact. The 1851 census report—drawn up, incidentally, by the grandfather of Oscar Wilde—"contained an unprecedented 'history of epidemic pestilences in Ireland' " (P. Carroll 99). At every port, census takers ticked off the number of emigrants. Under the watchful eye of the highly centralized form of governmentality characteristic of the British colonial administration, the biopolitical management of life and death in Ireland had to be measured with scientific precision. Meanwhile, on the other side of the ocean, the teeming Famine Irish hordes were disembarking from their fever-ridden hulks and into the racial calculus of the fractional US state in formation.

The following is a brief outline of the chapters to come. Chapter 1 opens with Frederick Douglass on Cape Cod, and it then follows him on his Black Atlantic journey to Ireland, where he discovers his new status as a modern subject. The year is 1845, the first year of the Great Hunger and the beginning of the Famine Irish exodus on the Green Atlantic and their new status as modern subjects in the American racial state. Chapter 2 outlines the career of one of the most remarkable figures in nineteenth-century American public life, John Hughes, the first Catholic archbishop of New York. His drive to build the corporate Church, coupled with his drive to Americanize both it and the Famine Irish is one of the great, yet relatively unknown, stories of America studies. Chapter 3 reveals Hughes's huge influence on a body of literature that catered to, and/or was written by, Famine Irish immigrants to America. This literature's role in US nation building has been largely neglected by Americanists to the detriment of a complete understanding of the ideological forces at work in the nineteenth-century US. Through

a look at second-generation Famine literature, Chapter 4 examines such state apparatuses as schools and the family and finds the Catholic Church a prime mover in promoting, among other things, patriarchal structure in both Church and state through these aforementioned apparatuses. Chapter 5 heads west for California to examine the Irish-Chinese encounter that raises interesting questions concerning the relationships among sexuality, gender, class, race, and the cultural imaginary. Through original archival work, Chapter 6 excavates the material means by which the state aided Irish passage to ideal citizenship in the US in California. Chapter 7 crisscrosses both the Atlantic and the continental United States with James Connolly, trade union organizer, Irish American socialist, and one of the most original thinkers of his time. Overall, this book shows how American state structures, often working in tandem with the Irish-led American Catholic Church and its coterie of novelists and nonfiction writers, offered the Famine Irish a path to ideal citizenship in the US racial state and how a few transatlantic Irish resisted the offer.

Notes

1. This introductory account of Hughes's mission to Europe, along with some biographical data, draws from Brann 13, 154–66; Hassard 327, 448–86; Shaw 13–16, 339–53.
2. The exact years of the great Famine differ according to the author. See, for example, Kenny's reference to "the famine decade, 1846–55" (*American Irish* 89–90). The years I state in the text correspond to Kinealy's formulation in her 1994 book *This Great Calamity: The Irish Famine, 1845–52*. I thus begin with the initial discovery of the potato blight and end with a year in which that blight tapered off; as this book makes clear, however, the consequences of how the British colonial state addressed that blight played out for generations thereafter.
3. On this point, see for example, Kinealy, "This Great Agony," and P. Fitzgerald.
4. I arrive at this rough range through analysis of statistics compiled in Reg Hindley's *Death of the Irish Language*. He cites two estimates, one in 1841, the other in 1842, which put the total number of Irish speakers at 4 million and 3 million, respectively (15). Given a population of 8.1 million people, as stated in an 1841 census of Ireland (15, 19), that means that Irish speakers constituted somewhere between 37.5 percent to 50 percent of the pre-Famine Irish population. (That is a low overall figure; this volume's text generally follows the estimate of Kevin Kenny, in *American Irish* 89, of 8.5 million persons in 1845, just before the Famine began.) By the 1851 census, when Irish speakers were enumerated for the first time by the colonial state, out of a population of 6,552,365 people, only 1,524,286 persons (or 23.3 percent of the population) spoke Irish. Out of these, a mere 319,602 people (or 4.9 percent of the total population) spoke Irish only (Hindley 19). Notably too, an estimated one-quarter to one-third of all Famine immigrants to the United States spoke Irish (Kenny, *American Irish* 138). Nicholas Wolf's recent monograph, *An Irish-Speaking Island*, is an excellent study of the Irish linguistic landscape between 1770 and 1870.
5. Whelan, "The Green Atlantic." See also the essays collected in O'Neill and Lloyd, *The Black and Green Atlantic* (2009).
6. See also R. Lee, Ch. 2.

7. The "color line" is, of course, the term that Du Bois used to described the racialization process in the United States (*Souls* 16). For a more recent usage, see Omi and Winant (65).
8. In addition to Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* (1995), discussed in the text at this point, examples of this scholarly focus may be found in the following excellent works: Alexander Saxton's *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic* (1990), David Roediger's *The Wages of Whiteness* (1991), Ronald Takaki's *A Different Mirror* (1993), Theodore Allen's *The Invention of the White Race*, volumes one (1994) and two (1997), Valerie Babb's *Whiteness Visible* (1998), and Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color* (1998). Several of these works are discussed later in this book.
9. A notable exception to this observation is Theodore Allen, whose work links the development of racism during the colonial conquest of Ireland with racism in colonial America.
10. *1790 Naturalization Act*. In addition to residency and status as a "free white," the applicant also was required to possess "good character" and willingness to "tak[e] the oath or affirmation . . . to support the constitution of the United States. . . ." (*ibid.*). All the applicant's children younger than twenty-one automatically acquired citizenship at the same time as their parent (*ibid.*). This act frequently is quoted otherwise, based on a quotation appearing in Jacobson (22). Jacobson appears to have quoted an early, pre-enactment version of the legislation. See *Annals of Congress*. In any event, on the questions of concern here, there is little difference between the earlier version and the act as quoted in the text.
11. Naturalization statutes would continue to limit eligibility to persons who were "free" and "white" until after the Civil War; moreover, an 1870 statutory revision that expressly included aliens of African descent was held to exclude the Chinese, and an 1882 statute codified that exclusion. See *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, 169 U.S. 649, 674–701 (1898) (describing these legal developments).
12. I am grateful to Catherine Eagan for the latter term, an adaptation of Homi Bhabha's well-known phrase concerning difference—"almost the same, but not quite"—in "Of Mimicry and Man" (86). See Eagan, " 'White,' If 'Not Quite.' "
13. For a useful essay on citizenship, see Berlant.
14. In colloquial usage, it is not uncommon to see "nationality" used as a synonym for "citizenship," just as "nation" is used as a synonym for "state," even though the precise meanings of these terms differ.
15. Another such usage appears in a title published several decades later, Seumas McManus's *The Story of the Irish Race* (1921). For more on Quigley and his work, see Ch. 3 and Ch. 6 of this volume.
16. For a thorough history of racial discourse in Irish history see Gibbons, Ch. 12.
17. See Thomas, "State."
18. For a useful discussion of American exceptionalism in its various forms and epochs, see Söderlind and Carson; for insightful analysis of contemporary ramifications of American exceptionalism, see Pease, *New American Exceptionalism*. For more on American origins mythology inspired by Hobbes and Locke, see Goldberg, Ch. 2.
19. See for example, Hislope and Mughan.
20. In contrast, the prevailing sentiment that Weber advanced in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904) had a much greater influence on nineteenth-century Irish America; in particular, on Irish American writers who contested that sentiment by postulating a Catholic, capitalist work ethic. See Ch. 3 and Ch. 4 of this book.
21. See also Horsman 210.
22. A Greece-born, Paris-educated philosopher, Poulantzas came to the attention of the English-speaking academy during the 1970s through the publication of five of

his books in translation and through a series of his debates with Ralph Miliband published in the British journal *New Left Review*. His five books published in English in the 1970s are: *Political Power and Social Classes* (1973); *Fascism and Dictatorship: The Third International and the Problem of Fascism* (1974); *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (1975); *The Crisis of the Dictatorships: Portugal, Greece, Spain* (1976); and *State, Power, Socialism* (1978). For a comprehensive summary and analysis of the Miliband-Poulantzas debate, see Barrow. In tracing the evolution of Poulantzas's state theory, scholars have observed that an adherence to a dogmatic Marxist structuralism constricted his early works. See Martin; Thomas, "Bringing"; Hall "Nicos"; and Jessop, *Nicos*. Over time, Poulantzas developed a more sophisticated theory fostered, Bob Jessop argues, by movement away from the writings of Louis Althusser and toward those of Michel Foucault (*State Theory* 234; see generally *ibid*., Ch. 8.). Most discussed were two monographs of this period: *Political Power and Social Classes* (1973) and *State, Power, Socialism* (1978). The latter, a mature work, is most instructive for present purposes, for it counters instrumentalist state theories like that of Weber.

23. See Aronowitz and Bratis (xi).
24. The only book-length treatment, Jessop's *Nicos Poulantzas*, was published in 1985. Other notable works include Stuart Hall's "Nicos Poulantzas: State, Power, Socialism" (1980) and, more recently, Paul Thomas's essay, "Bringing Poulantzas Back In" (1999). Poulantzas's work is given a thorough airing in Aronowitz and Bratsis, eds. (2002). In 2008, Verso published *The Poulantzas Reader* with a useful introduction by James Martin. Of the recent scholarship on the state consulted for this this project, the following fail to mention Poulantzas at all: Gautney et al. (2009), Yeatman and Zolkos (2010), Jung, Moon-Kie et al. (2011), Lull and Micó (2011), and Hislope and Mughan (2012).
25. Poulantzas borrows the term "unstable equilibrium" from Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*. "[T]he dominant group is coordinated concretely with the general interests of the subordinate groups, and the life of the State is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria (on the juridical plane) between interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups," Gramsci writes, then proceeds to describe these instabilities as "equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only to a certain point, i.e. stopping short of narrowly corporate economic interest" (182). Poulantzas also relied on Gramsci's understanding of "hegemony," as discussed later in this chapter.
26. The fact that Poulantzas locates the division between the economic and the political in conflictual class relations, rather than in an abstract structure, provides further evidence of the break from his earlier structuralism.
27. For another useful discussion on the concept of the "relative autonomy" of the state and globalization, see Tsoukalas.
28. This image of opacity represents quite an advance upon Poulantzas's earlier position, which regarded the state as the clear and identifiable cement holding together the social formation. For more on the difference between the early and late works of Poulantzas, see Hall, "Nicos."
29. Saxton connects the notion of "free white labor" to the "free-soil" movement, which urged the opening of "territories for the development by non-slaveholding settlers" (*Indispensable* 33). He quotes a Democratic Congressman's desire, expressed in 1847, to "'preserve to free white labor a fair country, a rich inheritance, where the sons of toil of my own race and my own color can live without the disgrace which association with Negro slavery brings upon free labor' " (*ibid*. 34). Yet Saxton notes that in the run-up to the Civil War, adherents to this view shifted to the Republican Party, which in 1860 would elect Abraham Lincoln as US president (*ibid*.). On this shift, see also E. Foner.

30. See Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy*, 85–126.
31. Gramsci refers to civil society as the "'private' woof of the State" (259).
32. See n.30 above.
33. On the "ban" as the ontological structure of sovereign power, see Agamben, *Homo Sacer*.
34. Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony enhances analysis of America in the century of Manifest Destiny. As phrases like "free white person" and "free white labor" indicate, whiteness then signified "freedom"; conversely, "freedom," along with related American values like "liberty" and "individualism," served as hallowed signifiers of whiteness. This interrelation points once again to the importance of race in the narrative of the nineteenth-century US state.
35. Cedric J. Robinson identifies racial orders in the Greek and Roman Empires and in feudal Europe. See his *Black Marxism*, especially Part One, and two of his other monographs, *Anthropology of Marxism* (2001) and *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning* (2007).
36. Poulantzas criticized Foucault's general epistemological and theoretical project; nevertheless, he found value in Foucault's work on the techniques of power and the state. As Jessop argues, Poulantzas's "indebtedness to Foucault's analyses of the continuous, diffuse, local, 'capillary' character of disciplinary technologies is especially clear" in *State, Power, Socialism* (Jessop, *State Theory* 221). Poulantzas and Foucault both insisted upon "the ubiquity of power and the state" and "on the immanence of power within social relations and of the state inside the mode of production" (229).
37. Generally speaking, statistics on US immigration in the first decades of the republic are rather weak as the federal government did not keep records of immigrant arrivals until 1820. Venturing an educated guess, Maldwyn Allen Jones puts the number who entered between 1783 and 1815 at about 250,000 (54). The *Department of Homeland Security Yearbook of Statistics 2013* states that 128,502 persons obtained lawful permanent residence in the decade beginning in 1820. Ireland was the largest place of origin, with 51,617 immigrants; following it were: the United Kingdom, with 26,336; France, with 7,694; Germany, with 5,753; Switzerland, with 3,146; and Spain, with 2,866. In the succeeding decade, the overall number nearly quadrupled to 538,381—once again Ireland sent the most emigrants, 170,672.
38. The amendment states in relevant part: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." I rely in this account on Freeman's insightful analysis of this period.
39. See Geer.
40. See Parsons. See also Saxton's *Rise and Fall*.
41. On the policing of Asian populations in the United States, see Aoki 908 n.34 and Ch. 5 and Ch. 6 in this volume.
42. Karl Marx, who rarely missed an opportunity to ridicule the man he called a plagiarist, offers the following quote from Malthus: "Since the population threatens unceasingly to exceed the available means of subsistence, benevolence is folly, an open encouragement to misery. The state, therefore, can do nothing but leave misery to its fate, and at best, facilitate the death of those in want" (*Early Writings* 408).

    Marx may, as Buck-Morss says, have had "too much faith in the scientific objectivity" of economics; nonetheless, he obliterated the Malthusian reading of the economy. Marx and his collaborator, Friedrich Engels, seemed to speak to Malthus when they wrote in *The Communist Manifesto*: "The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical

relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that preceded you" (100).

43. On the Victorian preoccupation with race, see also Young 90; McClintock 49–53.
44. Among Carlyle's many references to the term occurs in his circa 1836 novel *Sartor Resartus*. He writes of a "*Drudge* Sect" in Britain, originally from Ireland, and also called, "unphilosophically enough, the *White-Negroes*" (212, original emphasis).
45. At the time, in contrast with the 8.2 million people in Ireland, there were 15.9 million in England and another 2.6 million in Scotland (Kinealy *Great Irish Famine* 18).
46. Nevertheless, the Malthusian contention that Ireland's overpopulation made famine inevitable—entrenched as conventional wisdom in the 1800s—holds sway in some quarters today. For more on this, see Lloyd, *Irish Culture* 22–23.
47. See Heal.
48. On the plight of the 2,000 tenant farmers whom landlord Palmerston sent on an awful transatlantic journey, see Ch. 1 of this book.
49. Making similar statements, as noted in Ch. 5 of Peter Gray's *Famine, Land and Politics*, were Charles Wood, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Henry George Grey, the colonial secretary, better known as the third Earl Grey.
50. See Sen's *Poverty and Famine*.
51. It is not necessary to give a thorough account of these opposing positions as several excellent accounts are available. Two essays by Kevin Whelan, "Come All Ye Staunch Revisionists" and "The Revisionist Debate in Ireland," are particularly insightful, as is David Lloyd's "Introduction" to *Ireland after History*.
52. Article II of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines this offense to include "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such," and then lists as genocidal acts "[k]illing members of the group"; "[c]ausing serious bodily harm to members of the group"; "[d]eliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part"; "[i]mposing measures intended to prevent births within the group"; and "[f]orcibly transferring children of the group to another
53. See Nally, *Human Encumbrances*; Delaney, *The Curse of Reason*; Ó Murchada, *The Great Famine*; and Kelly, *The Graves are Walking*. For an insightful review of recent Famine historiography, see Mac Suibhne's "A Jig in the Poor House."
54. Benjamin Disraeli coined this term in his 1830 novel *The Young Duke* (49); nearly four decades later, Disraeli would begin the first of two terms as Britain's prime minister.

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1 Black and Green Atlantic Crossings in the Famine Era

On a mid-August night in 1841, a thousand persons or so crowded into the Big Shop, a square building on the Massachusetts island of Nantucket, to hear a man, six foot tall with a stern gaze and a thick shock of hair, deliver his first-ever public speech. "It was with the utmost difficulty that I could stand erect, or that I could command and articulate two words without hesitation and stammering," the man, then twenty-three years old, later would recall. "I trembled in every limb." Eventually he would warm to his task so well that his audience—advocates for the abolition of Southern slavery, most of them Northern Protestant intellectuals—"became as much excited as myself."[1] This novice speaker was Frederick Douglass, who not long before had escaped from slavery and who soon would grow into an unequaled orator, writer, and activist. Contributing to his metamorphosis was a voyage from America to Ireland that Douglass undertook in 1845, the same year that Famine refugees began to sail from Ireland to America. Douglass's was a "Black Atlantic" crossing, to use Paul Gilroy's term—"an intercultural and transnational formation" (ix) that emerged out of a sojourn of ideational hybridization and exchange. Venturing eastward, Douglass reclaimed the humanity that had been denied to him and other Americans born into slavery—and to his Africa-born ancestors who, centuries before, had made the very different, Middle Passage journey of enslavement.

Just as traveling on the Black Atlantic transformed Douglass, a "Green Atlantic" journey likewise transformed the Irish Famine emigrant—indeed, as this book illustrates, that westward journey often augured an Irish person's crossing from green to white. In examining the interrelation of these Black and Green Atlantic crossings, it is worthwhile first to compare Douglass's tongue-tied oratorical début—the 1841 speech in Nantucket—to the near-voicelessness of the Irish in flight.

Near Silence of Famine-Ship Sorrows

Appropriating from Antonio Gramsci a term denoting the economically dispossessed and historically muted subject, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's foundational postcolonial studies essay poses a question: "Can the Subaltern

Speak?" With regard to the nearly 2 million Irish who sailed to North America in the Famine years,[2] many of whom were from the subaltern class, the answer is a resounding "no." Only two "eyewitness" accounts of such crossings appear to exist, both of highly questionable origins. Moreover, the supposed authors of both were Irish men far different from the peasants who endured arduous journeys in the steerage sections of what are known to this day as "coffin ships."[3]

Between 1846 and 1851, an estimated 5,000 ships filled with Irish men, women, and children journeyed westward across the Atlantic (Laxton 7). Some Irish sailed directly to America from Ireland; many others left from Liverpool and other ports on the British mainland. This Liverpool leg indicates an intercrossing of the Black and Green Atlantics: Liverpool once was a premier center for slave trafficking. After Britain abolished slavery in its colonies in 1833, shipowners, crews, and agents who had profited from the Middle Passage suffered financially. According to Edward Laxton, Ireland's 1840s misfortune proved the old slavers' stroke of good luck. British ships again made westward journeys with human cargo—this time, Famine Irish in flight—and returned eastward laden with timber from Canada (8).

Of the Irish who fled, Kenny states, 1.5 million went to the United States and another 300,000 elsewhere in North America[4] (*American Irish* 89–90). Months in transit, in squalid quarters, took a heavy toll. The rate of deaths in the Famine's worst year was 20 percent out of 214,000 Irish emigrants; that exceeds the estimated loss rate of 14.5 percent out of 12.4 million enslaved persons transported to America during the Middle Passage (Kenny, 103; K. Miller, 292; Rediker 5). To state this is by no means to diminish the ghastly criminality of the Atlantic slave trade; rather, the comparison is offered to explain how the vessels on which many Irish fled came to be called coffin ships. The Irish casualty rate, coupled with the abject poverty of many of the Irish who were emigrating, also helps to explain the virtual absence of coffin ship memoirs.

One of the two published memoirs—said to be the diary of Gerard Keegan, a County Sligo schoolteacher and 1847 emigrant—has been proven to be a fraud. It first appeared in Quebec in 1895 under the title *Summer of Sorrow*, a work of historical fiction by Scottish-born Canadian Orangeman Robert Sellars. Despite this, a century later in Quebec, James J. Mangan, a teacher and member of the Christian Brothers religious order, published *The Voyage of the Naparima* (1982), claiming it to be an edited version based on a photostatic copy of Keegan's manuscript. Republished in Dublin as *Gerard Keegan's Famine Diary: Journey to the New World* (1991), Mangan's work juxtaposes pages of printed prose with assertedly original journal entries, presenting the latter in cursive script. Whereas some Irish historians, in knee-jerk fashion, have seized upon the publication of the "diary" as proof of the fallacious nature of Irish nationalist received wisdom, without attempting further investigation, Jason King has taken a more academically sound approach. Through meticulous archival research in Quebec, and elsewhere,

King contends that whereas both *Keegan's Famine Diary* and Sellars's *Summer of Sorrow* are indeed works of historical fiction, they are based on actual eyewitness accounts and utilize other factual sources of famine migration ("Genealogy" 47). King's research has revealed, for example, that the two principal eyewitnesses upon which these publications were based were figures who ministered to the sick and dying Famine Irish in the fever sheds of Grosse Île, Quebec, Anglo-Irish landlord, Stephen De Vere, and Fr. Bernard O'Reilly[5] (48). Given King's conclusion that *Famine Diary* "provides a discernable trajectory to contemporary first-person accounts of the famine that are preeminent within a hierarchy of genres" (65), the harrowing entries of the *Diary* aboard the coffin ship, *Naparima* are worthy of our consideration.

One such—an undated entry just above another dated May 1—states:

> While I was coming from the galley this afternoon, with a pan of stirabout for some sick children, a man suddenly sprang upwards from the hatchway, rushed to the bulwark, his white hair streaming in the wind, and without a moment's hesitation leaped into the seething waters. He disappeared beneath them at once. His daughter soon came hurrying up the ladder to look for him. She said he had escaped from his bunk during her momentary absence, that he was mad with the fever. When I told her gently as I could that she would never see him again, she could not believe me, thinking he was hiding. Oh the piercing cry that came from her lips when she leaned where he had gone; the rush to the vessel's side, and the eager look as she scanned the foaming billows.
>
> (79)

Confabulation undercuts the force of this tale of the diseases and cruelties that more than 500 Canada-bound Irish migrants suffered aboard the *Naparima*, "an ancient tub of a vessel" (64). That said, Mangan's effort to keep memories of the Famine alive stands in admirable contrast to those who would prefer to downplay the brutal treatment of the Famine Irish.

Mangan's perseverance, moreover, led to his rediscovery of another somewhat more authentic coffin ship journal. Thus in 1994, Mangan published *Robert Whyte's 1847 Famine Diary: The Journey of an Irish Coffin Ship*, a lightly edited version of *The Ocean Plague: The Diary of a Cabin Passenger* (1848), ostensibly written by one Robert Whyte. Whereas the authenticity of *Ocean Plague* has been called into question also, nevertheless, as Mark McGowan's extensive research has revealed,[6] it contains fragments of eyewitness accounts that appear plausible, thus making it worthy of our consideration here. Little is known of Whyte—quite likely a pen name—except that he was an educated Irishman, possibly a professional writer, who on May 30, 1847, boarded the *Ajax* at a Dublin quay to begin a fateful Atlantic crossing. He and about a hundred other passengers were afloat for more than forty days before catching a glimpse of land. The *Ajax* did not make

port until almost sixty days had lapsed, and even then, the journey was not over. Whyte stayed a week at Grosse Île, a quarantine station in the middle of the St. Lawrence River; ailing passengers who had not perished at sea would stay much longer, and some would die at Grosse Île without ever setting foot in the Port of Quebec.

Debility had been evident even as the passengers mustered on deck at the start of the journey. "[A] more motley crowd I never beheld; of all ages, from the infant to the feeble grandsire and withered crone," Whyte writes (18). "Many of them," he adds, "appeared to me to be quite unfit to undergo the hardship of a long voyage. . . . One old man was so infirm that he seemed to me to be in the last stage of consumption" (18). Not only illness, but also ignorance of what lay ahead, plagued these passengers. "They were chiefly from County Meath, and sent out at the expense of their landlord without any knowledge of the country to which they were going, or means of livelihood except the labour of the father of each family" (21).

Conditions aboard made matters worse. Migrants were supposed to have brought their own food; there was not nearly enough, and the drinking water, stored in contaminated barrels, soon turned toxic. The inevitable results were fever, dysentery—the symptoms of which Whyte describes in graphic detail—and death. About a month into the journey, Whyte writes: "The moaning and raving of the patients kept me awake nearly all the night. . . . It made my heart bleed to listen to the cries for 'Water, for God's sake some water!' " (35). "[T]he effluvium of the hold," he adds, "was shocking" (36). Having witnessed the "convulsive agony" of a child (34–35), and the "unnatural" deformity in a sick woman's "swollen" head (36–37), Whyte learns from priests at Grosse Île that such scenes were not the exception, but rather the norm, on the coffin ships then anchored in the St. Lawrence River. "In the holds of some of them they said they were up to their ankles in filth. The wretched emigrants crowded together like cattle and corpses remaining long unburied—the sailors being ill and the passengers unwilling to touch them" (66). No doubt traumatized by the experience, Whyte crossed the border to the United States, published his diary, then vanished into anonymity.

To date no published, firsthand Irish diaries of the Famine voyage have surfaced besides these two. Yet even they do little to give voice to the sea-bounded experiences of the Famine Irish. Neither the putative author(s) of *Keegan's Famine Diary* nor the pseudonymous author of *Whyte's 1847 Famine Ship Diary* shared much in common with the illiterate, often Gaelic-speaking, spud growers and tenant farmers who suffered between decks (see Figure 1.1)

Although Keegan's *Diary* was based on secondhand sources, Whyte, supposedly a professional writer, traveled not in steerage with the subalterns below deck but was a cabin passenger who enjoyed meals with the captain and the captain's wife. Thus these heart-wrenching sagas came from witnesses at some remove—at far less remove, however, than what may be the best-known account of death on a coffin ship.

Figure 1.1 "Emigration Vessel.—Between Decks," *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1851: 387.

Courtesy of the University of Georgia Libraries.

A Coffin Ship Shattered at Cohasset

"The brig *St. John*, from Galway, Ireland, laden with emigrants, was wrecked on Sunday morning."[7] So writes Henry David Thoreau in "The Shipwreck," an essay about his American encounter with the Irish Famine. It takes place in 1849 in Cohasset, eight years after and eighty miles away from Frederick Douglass's début speech. By this time Thoreau was thirty-two years old and a writer of some note. He belonged to a circle of New Englanders, including the celebrated poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, who espoused transcendentalism. Theirs was a "return to nature" movement, as a Thoreau biographer puts it, a movement that prized individualism and sought "to revert, as much as possible, from an artificial to a simple mode of living" (Salt 36). Thoreau had gone so far as to live alone in a hut beside Walden Pond from 1845 to 1847; by 1849, he was residing near Emerson in Concord, outside of Boston, and endeavoring to edit his Walden diary into a book (37–52, 67).[8]

Thoreau begins "The Shipwreck" by explaining that a storm has thwarted his plans to travel via steamship from Boston to Cape Cod. He decides to take a train to see what the tempest has done to a coffin ship and its 145 passengers. On arrival, the essayist accompanies "several hundred" distraught Irish Bostonians to the shore, passing a freshly dug mass grave. He relates:

> I saw many marble feet and matted heads . . . and one, livid, swollen and mangled body of a drowned girl,—who probably had intended to go out to service in some America family,—to which some rags still adhered, with a string, half concealed by the flesh, about its swollen neck; the coiled up wreck of a human hulk, gashed by the rocks or fishes, so that

> the bone and the muscle were exposed, but quite bloodless,—merely red and white,—with wide-open and staring eyes, yet lusterless, deadlights: or like cabin windows of a stranded vessel filled with sand.
>
> (7)

The sight doubtless brought to the minds of the Irish grisly Famine scenes, some of which they had lived through, some still occurring across the Atlantic. Thoreau misses the connection, finding the scene "bloodless."

Cohasset locals, Thoreau reports, go about their business of collecting seaweed: "Drown who might, they did not forget that this weed was a valuable manure. This shipwreck had not produced a visible vibration in the fabric of society" (9). One local speaks of the wreck "as if he had a bet depending on it, but had no humane interest in the matter" (11). Thoreau is with him:

> On the whole, it was not so impressive a scene as I might have expected. If I had found one body cast upon the beach in some lonely place, it would have affected me more. I sympathized rather with the winds and waves, as if to toss and mangle those poor human bodies was the order of the day. If this was the law of Nature, why waste any time in awe and pity? . . . It is the individual and private that demands our sympathy.
>
> (12-13)

Later, he asks: "Why care for these dead bodies?" (14). Seeing so many victims seems to leave Thoreau with what today would be called compassion fatigue, not unlike the "Famine fatigue" that developed in mid-nineteenth-century Britain.[9]

With his admission that only "the individual and private . . . demands our sympathy" (13), and his later reference to himself as "a lonely walker there" (13), Thoreau maintains distance between himself and the Irish victims. His worldview is at odds with any public, communitarian, or corporate worldview—including Catholicism,[10] the religion of those who drowned at Cohasset. The most destitute of these Irish refugees had subsisted on the margins of a British colonial state that afforded them little to no relief when the Famine struck. These Irish arrived in America in bulk and, as Thoreau sees it, "really have no friends but the worms and the fishes" (14).

This premise permits Thoreau to discuss the dead with remarkable detachment. He ticks off bodies on the shore. "Sometimes there were two or more children, or a parent and child, in the same box, and on the lid would perhaps be written with red chalk, 'Bridget such-a-one, and sister's child' " (7). The name he recites is the cultural imaginary's stock label for the Irish woman—"Bridget," partner of "Paddy." Thoreau suggests that given their intended future of domestic "service in some America family" these drowned Bridgets may be better off dead: "No doubt we have reason to thank God that they have not been 'shipwrecked in life again' " (7; 14). The

claim adumbrates the class dimension of this tragedy. The author's American, individualist, middle-class readers deserve to live, perhaps not the subservient, feminized Irish victims.

Feminization is indeed at play.[11] In addition to the "body of a drowned girl . . . to which some rags still adhered" (7), the essay describes a woman's body, "risen in an upright position," a corpse "whose white cap is blown back with the wind" (13). Dwelling on these particular shipwreck victims, Thoreau indulges in what Jack Morgan calls the "female embodiment of catastrophe."[12] Morgan shows how "The Shipwreck," written by an American man, charts a feminizing course similar to Famine journals written by British men. In so doing, Morgan draws on Margaret Kelleher's identification of a transgressive voyeurism: These men's Famine accounts, Kelleher observes, stress the "nakedness or quasi-nakedness" of women victims (*Feminization* 24). "The female figure, as scene of hunger and 'bearer of meaning', receives a detailed physical inspection, never matched in characterizations of male famine victims" (*Feminization* 24).[13] If Thoreau shares this transgressive voyeurism with British male observers of the Famine, he shares it also with someone far closer to home. Deborah McDowell's insightful critique of Douglass's writing comes to mind here. McDowell observes that in the *Narrative*, as well as in his other autobiographies, the repeated accounts of whippings of Black women by white men are clearly sexualized. This repetition, she maintains, "projects him [Douglass] into a voyeuristic relation to the violence against slave women, which he watches, and thus enters into a symbolic complicity with the sexual crime he witnesses" (203). Douglass's frequent association of freedom from bondage with manhood, most famously, in his account of his fight with Covey the slave breaker,[14] his constant emphasis on Black male power often at the expense of the female slave, aligns him with contemporaries such as Thoreau. Both men reproduce a gendered division of power in their writing—in the *Narrative*, it is reproduced through the elision of the female slave, whereas in "The Shipwreck" it is the male Famine victim who is elided.

Indeed, of all the Paddies aboard the *St. John*, Thoreau gives not a mention.[15] And what little Thoreau said of such men in other contexts revealed an anti-Irish bias. One reference, to an Irish neighbor at Walden Pond, employs words evocative of the potato debate that roiled Britain in the early 1800s:[16] "With his horizon all his own, yet he a poor man, born to be poor, with his inherited Irish poverty or poor life, his Adam's grandmother and boggy ways, not to rise in this world, he nor his posterity, till their wading webbed bog-trotting feet get talaria to their heels" (*Walden* 156). Helen Lojek notes that Thoreau's prejudicial "attitude towards the Irish is revealed not in a developed essay nor even in any extended analysis in the pages of his journal; rather it comes in bits and pieces; in casual references, in narratives included in longer works, in incidental descriptions" (280).[17] Like other aspects of his writings, these references situate Thoreau in the mainstream of nineteenth-century Protestant elite thinking. Douglass's anti-Irish bias will be discussed shortly.

Protestant Intellectuals and the Irish Peasant

Thoreau's dispassionate meditation on the *St. John* tragedy is in keeping with the Emersonian tradition that John Carlos Rowe calls "aesthetic dissent"; that is, "the romantic idealist assumption that rigorous reflection on the processes of thought and representation constitutes in itself a critique of social reality and effects a transformation of the naïve realism that confuses truth with social convention" (*Emerson's Tomb* 1). As Rowe shows, American transcendentalists privileged "rigorous reflection" over political engagement.

Thoreau's reflection leads him to view the *St. John* disaster as part of "the law of Nature," not worth one's "wast[ing] any time in awe and pity" (13).[18] He naturalizes the shipwreck—in effect, he removes human agency from the human carnage—and so senses no need to interrogate the human-made social and political events that drove these Irish Famine escapees to the rocks of Cohasset. The feint nicely illustrates how transcendentalism leant itself to the emergence of a US exceptionalist ideology disinterested in the ugliness of primitive accumulation lurking at the state's foundations. The ugliness extended to the annihilation of indigenous Americans, to the subjection of women, and to the mistreatment of persons whose ancestors arrived from continents other than Europe. The ugliness also extended, of course, to slavery. As an emergent sovereign power, the United States included slaves only so that they could be excluded from its legal framework; that is, US laws regarded African American slaves not as people but as property subject to the laws of commerce. Slaves were "two persons in one," Stephen Best maintains (9). "Rights" were attached to the slave's labor but not to the slave's body; moreover, any such rights were held not by the slave but by the "free white person" adjudged the slave's owner. Best points to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, which treated the slave both as bare life devoid of legal standing as a human being and also as an article of property that may be bought, sold, or hunted down (9). These gritty complexities escaped the transcendentalists' regard. As Rowe maintains,

> the great emancipatory movements of the American nineteenth century—women's rights and the abolition of slavery—were unquestionably subordinated by this aesthetic ideology to the 'higher laws' of an American Romanticism established firmly by Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman and institutionalized by several generations of professional interpreters. (5)

This Protestant intellectual establishment likewise enabled prejudice more virulent than the casual form that Thoreau practiced. An example may be found in an 1837 sermon in which Emerson offered this assessment of minority groups then called "races":[19]

> I think it cannot be maintained by any candid person that the African race have ever occupied or do promise ever to occupy any very high

> place in the human family. The Irish cannot; the American Indian cannot; the Chinese cannot. Before the energy of the Caucasian race all the other races have quailed and done obeisance.
>
> (Emerson, *Journals* 152)[20]

Emerson would elaborate on these ideas in *English Traits*, his 1856 transatlantic bestseller. From its inception, as evidenced by the Naturalization Act of 1790, the American state classified the Irish as "whites" eligible for citizenship.[21] Yet for decades thereafter, Emerson and his like distinguished the Irish from the Anglo-Saxon[22] and considered the latter the one true American stock. Even as America's dominant culture came to accept the Irish,[23] moreover, it continued to consign the other groups named by Emerson to racial otherness.

Erasure/Excavation of Irish Identities

Curiously, Thoreau's essay "The Shipwreck" eventually contradicts its initial assertion of the Cohasset locals' numbness. "They would watch there for many days and nights for the sea to give up its dead," he writes, "and their imaginations and sympathies would supply the place of mourners far away, who as yet knew not of the wreck" (13). Yet even as he commends these locals' vigilance, Thoreau—again, perhaps, revealing his own classism—insists that they lack his depth. Unlike them, he sees an aesthetic in the sea's coughing up of the upright corpse of a woman, her white cap blowing in the wind: "I saw," he says, "that the beauty of the shore itself was wrecked for many a lonely walker there, until he could perceive at last, how its beauty was enhanced by wrecks like this, and it acquired thus a rarer and sublimer beauty still" (13–14). By this telling the drowned woman is reified, an unnamed figure put on the landscape just so that the "lonely walker" may contemplate her.

Thoreau's erasure of Irish identities contrasts with the unearthing of those same identities in a recent book on this same calamity. Writing in 2009, William Henry, author of *Coffin Ship: The Wreck of the Brig St. John*, has no circa-1849 quotations at his disposal. Nevertheless, by consulting community historians on both sides of the Atlantic, Henry pieces together details about the people doomed to travel on the *St. John*'s final voyage. His book identifies the captain as Martin Oliver, a Galway resident like all his crew. Also reproduced are the names and homelands of passengers—most hailed from Clare or Connemara, and some had walked for days to reach the Galway port. With precision, Henry recounts that 109 passengers and seven crew members drowned at Cohasset; only seventeen passengers and nine of the crew—among them, Captain Oliver—survived.

Henry's prose is not polished. Yet by reviving facts in the lives of these shipwrecked, he succeeds where Thoreau, deadened to all feeling, cannot.

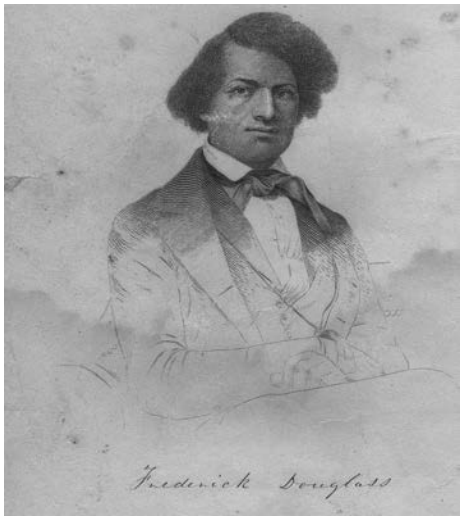

Figure 1.2 "Frederick Douglass." 1845.

Courtesy of the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia.

Thoreau's "drowned girl" is not a human but rather "the coiled up wreck of a human hulk" (7)—the cast off of a transcendent "Spirit" (15). Perhaps unwittingly, by use of the term "hulk," Thoreau conjures not only a ruin from which the Spirit has fled, a husk without its kernel, but also the "hulks" to which many Famine Irish were condemned for the crime of stealing food. In this respect, "hulk" is both a metaphor for expendable life and a metonym for the Famine victims who began fleeing from Ireland's horrors the same year that Thoreau retreated to Walden's splendors: 1845.

Douglass Flees to an Ireland Itself in Flight

In 1845, four years after his Nantucket speech, Frederick Douglass also put to flight. His first book had just been published, titled *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*; it begins with his life as a slave in Maryland, tells of his escape to the North, and ends with his speech at the abolitionist rally in Nantucket. Today, on account of that book and two other autobiographies, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (1855) and *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1893), he is regarded among the most remarkable figures in the history of American letters. "In his writing," William S. McFeely writes, "Douglass outran being a runaway" (115). Even as early as 1845, Douglass was much in demand as a public speaker. But he was a wanted man in another sense, too, his risk of forced return to slavery growing along with his fame. Thus in late August

of that year, Douglass accepted abolitionists' invitation to visit Britain and Ireland.

Douglass's voyage to Liverpool aboard the Cunard liner *Cambria* was a transformative journey second only to his escape from Maryland.[24] It is true that he was forced to travel in steerage, for the reason that, as he writes in *My Bondage, My Freedom*, "American prejudice against color triumphed over British liberality and civilization, and erected a color test and condition for crossing the sea in the cabin of a British vessel" (*Autobiographies* 370). Douglass was not unduly perturbed, however. Soon he began receiving passengers from first class who began calling on him in his second-class quarters. He seemed to enjoy himself for the most part and was quite the center of attraction during the voyage.

Perhaps responding to requests, *Cambria*'s Captain Judkins invited Douglass to lecture on slavery (371). According to McFeely, "Douglass delivered a fiery oration denouncing the merchants who had used ships, like the one he was on, to haul human cargo from Africa" (120). Some inebriated Southern slaveholders in the audience made to throw Douglass overboard. They were subdued by Judkins, who in a wonderfully ironic gesture, threatened "to put the salt water mobocrats in irons" (*Autobiographies* 371). For the first time in Douglass's life, authority had come to his rescue. As Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford write in the introductory chapter to their collection of essays on Douglass's visit to Ireland and Britain, *Liberating Sojourn*, "On the *Cambria*, the racial world is turned upside down in a carnivalesque picture of enchained slaveholders and free-speaking African Americans that only becomes possible away from American mores in the liminal zone of the sea" (3). Douglass often recalled this incident, expressing his gratitude that the slaveholders had unwittingly done him a huge favor. "Men, in their senses," he wrote, "do not take bowie knives to kill mosquitoes, nor pistols to shoot flies; and the American passengers on board the *Cambria* took the most effective method of telling the British public that I had something to say" (381). In no small part due to the publicity surrounding the incident, in Britain and Ireland Douglass's appearances attracted large and enthusiastic crowds. But the incident had a much deeper significance, according to Rice and Crawford:

> What Douglass achieved through the recounting of his triumph aboard the *Cambria* was a refiguring of the Atlantic crossing from a historically enslaving experience into a literally liberating one. The old Atlantic triangular trade had taken slaves to the Americas and brought back cotton and other raw materials that were turned into finished goods to be traded for slaves in Africa. Douglass's trip could be seen symbolically to mirror aspects of this trade. He came to Britain as raw material of a great black figure; he would leave in April 1847 the finished independent man, cut from a whole cloth and able to make his own decisions about the strategies and ideologies of the abolitionist movement.
>
> (3)

Douglass stayed only a few days in England before he sailed back west to Ireland. There he was to spend almost six months before journeying onward to Scotland and England. It was in Ireland, not England, that Douglass first noticed a change within. "I can truly say," he wrote in one of several public letters he sent New England abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison from Ireland, "I have spent some of the happiest moments of my life in this country. I seemed to have undergone a transformation, I live a new life" (*Autobiographies* 373).

Douglass Finds His Voice Ireland

From Belfast on New Year's Day in 1846, Douglass wrote Garrison:

> Instead of the bright blue sky of America, I am covered with the soft grey fog of the Emerald Isle. I breathe and lo! the chattel becomes a man. I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as a slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended. No delicate nose deforms in my presence.
>
> (P. Foner 1:127–28)

In the same letter, Douglass adds, "My opportunities for learning the character and condition of the people of this land have been very great" (1:126). He had traveled all over Ireland, and whereas he undoubtedly learned a lot about the Irish people, he learned perhaps even more about himself. His observations in Ireland stand in marked contrast to some he made about England. Later in his tour, for example, Douglass would comment, "I find I am hardly Black enough for British taste" (qtd in Jenkins 27). "If Victorian Britain found in Douglass an answer to its need for an exotic Other," Lee Jenkins has observed, "Douglass himself seems to have found the full complement of his selfhood—in Victorian Ireland" (27).

Douglass's Irish sojourn began in Dublin, in the home of Quaker Richard Webb, publisher of the Irish edition of *The Narrative*. Webb and Douglass argued over many aspects of publication. One row concerned the inclusion of articles by two Belfast clergymen in the Dublin edition. Webb did not want to include them, but Douglass insisted and, in the end, prevailed. In contrast to many American abolitionists "Webb was, in the main, an honorable foe," according to McFeely. "He was one of the few of Douglass' antislavery antagonists who did not prefer to smile benignly and then do their undercutting offstage. Webb was brave enough to disagree with Douglass to his face" (122). This crucial difference between Webb and the New England abolitionists did not go unnoticed by Douglass.

The Irish edition of *The Narrative* contains a new preface and other emendations. Until fairly recently, scholars for the most part ignored the

changes that Douglass made in Ireland; most considered the first American printing of *The Narrative* to be the authoritative version. But then in 2001, Fionnghuala Sweeney and Patricia Ferreira published separate journal articles, each of which highlighted the personal and literary opportunities of which Douglass had availed himself while in Ireland.[25] Sweeney contended that

> the reprinting of the Narrative in Ireland marks the beginning of a stage in Douglass's career that has profound implications for contemporary reading of his life and work . . . the Irish Narratives mark a transitional phase in Douglass' emergence as a modern subject and in his negotiation of nineteenth-century models of socio-cultural identity.
>
> ("Republic" 47)

Ferreira in turn pointed out that Douglass's use in the Irish edition of specific, discursive methodologies marked a profound change: it "demonstrates his assertion of command over his own destiny" (60). Part of his new preface and the entire appendix are devoted to an exchange between Douglass and a supporter of slavery, A.C.C. Thompson. Originally a set of letters in newspapers, Douglass crafted them into a dialog "that speaks to his desire to seize and manage his own affairs" (Ferreira 60). Douglass's dialogic use of Thompson skillfully subverts nineteenth-century Americans' refusal to deem a slave narrative authentic unless it granted discursive authority to white people of a certain social standing. *The Narrative*'s Dublin version mocks this practice of privileging one writer's words over another on account of social standing and race.

The Dublin edition thus marks a turning point in Douglass's literary and political life, a time when he took self-confident steps to get out from under the suffocating, paternalistic attempts of the New England antislavery establishment to control him. In Ireland, Douglass was becoming his own man. "In literary terms this involved the recreation of Ireland as a space of social mobility that allowed the crystallization of modern subjectivity that Douglass was so painstakingly constructing," Sweeney writes. "Ireland, a liminal and empowering space—like Douglass himself, on the margin of modernity—provided the context of his political and literary evolution" ("Republic" 56).

Ireland's "Liberator"

Besides his literary endeavors in Ireland, Douglass met with people who would inspire him for a lifetime, and no one inspired him more than Daniel O'Connell. Douglass so revered the man, known in Ireland as the Liberator, that he visited Dublin's Kilmainham Jail just to see the cell where his hero once had been held (Rolston 78).

In his *Life and Times*, Douglass writes of the great Irish Nationalist leader and gifted orator O'Connell:

> Until I heard this man I had thought that the story of his oratory was greatly exaggerated. . . . His eloquence came down upon the vast assembly like a summer thunder-shower upon a dusty road. He could at will stir the multitude to a tempest of wrath or reduce it to the silence with which a mother leaves the cradle-side of her sleeping babe. Such tenderness, such pathos, such world-embracing love!—and, on the other hand, such indignation, such fiery and thunderous denunciation, such wit and humor, I never heard surpassed, if equaled at home or abroad. He held Ireland within the grasp of his strong hand, and could lead it whithersoever he would, for Ireland believed in him and loved him as she loved and believed in no leader since.
>
> (*Autobiographies* 682)

O'Connell's renown centers primarily on his political agitation around two main issues: first, repeal of the 1801 Act of Union that purported to join Ireland with Britain, and second, status for Irish Catholics whom British Penal Laws denied even the most basic legal standing (Nowlan 10). The first effort failed. But O'Connell won partial success in the latter in 1829, when Parliament passed the Catholic Emancipation Act, which accorded Irish Catholics limited voting and property rights.

Notable from Douglass's perspective was O'Connell's stance on slavery. At Westminster, O'Connell gave eloquent speeches advocating the abolition of slavery. O'Connell refused money offered him by Southern slaveholders,[26] moreover, and he enforced an oft-quoted test: "That one should ascertain where an Englishman or Irishman stood on slavery before shaking his hand" (Rolston 78–79). In her excellent biography of the Liberator, Christine Kinealy argues: "His unwavering commitment to the cause of abolition, and to human rights generally, marked him out as one of the truly great statesmen of the nineteenth century" (9). O'Connell's exploits endeared him to Douglass, to Garrison, and to other abolitionists active on both sides of the Atlantic.

Douglass would maintain a national and transnational presence after his return in 1847. The very next year, he was the only African American person to attend and speak at the first women's rights conference in Seneca Falls, New York. Thereafter, he championed feminism as well as the abolition of slavery and the institution of home rule in Ireland. In 1872, he became the first African American to win nomination for vice president of the United States, on an Equal Rights Party ticket headed by the first woman presidential nominee, Victoria Woodhull. Over the decades, he traveled widely, was a frequent guest at the White House, and served as US envoy to the Dominican Republic and, from 1889 to 1891 as US minister resident and consul to Haiti. Moreover, Douglass's publication of successive biographies

secured him a place among the greats of American letters.[27] This pivotal nineteenth-century figure died on February 20, 1895, and was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York.[28]

Douglass Encounters the Famine Irish

Douglass's first transatlantic sojourn coincided with the single most destructive event of nineteenth-century Europe. The Great Irish Famine had begun in 1845 with the partial failing of the year's crop of potatoes, Irish peasants' staple food. Repeated crop failures would hasten the spread of disease and destitution and lead, over the course of the decade, to the deaths of well over a million Irish children, women, and men.

The sorrows surrounding him in Ireland were not lost on Douglass. In an extraordinary letter dated February 26, 1846, he described to Garrison a harrowing tableaux. In Dublin, "the scenes I there witnessed were such to make me 'blush and hang my head to think myself a man' " (P. Foner 1:139). Douglass wrote of his visit to a windowless, mud-walled hut, filthy and scum covered, a place where men, women and children "lie down together, in much the same degradation as the American slaves. I see much here to remind me of my former condition, and I confess I should be ashamed to lift up my voice against American slavery, but that I know the cause of humanity is one the world over" (1:141). Douglass echoes these thoughts in *My Bondage and My Freedom*, published nearly a decade later. Recalling songs that slaves were made to sing on American plantations, he writes: "I have never heard any songs like those anywhere since I left slavery, except when in Ireland. There I heard the same wailing notes, and was much affected by them. It was during the famine of 1845–6" (*Autobiographies* 184). Likewise, during an 1854 lecture,[29] Douglass describes "a large meeting of the common people" he attended nine years before in Dublin: "More than five thousand were assembled; and I say, with no wish to wound the feelings of any Irishman, that these people lacked only a black skin and wooly hair, to complete their likeness to the plantation negro." He explains to his Cleveland audience that the claim applies not to educated and well-to-do Irish but rather to the peasantry that suffered most during the Famine: "[T]he Irishman ignorant and degraded, compares in form and feature, with the Negro" (P. Foner 2: 305). Through comments like these, Douglass repeatedly connects his bare life existence in America—that is, the experiences of himself and others who had been reduced to slavery in the early American Republic—with contemporaneous Irish subaltern poverty and deprivation under British colonial rule. Douglass's perception of the underbellies of two Atlantic racial states distinguishes him from most Famine Irish emigrants, as we soon shall see. It likewise distinguished him from white Protestant elites who professed to draw inspiration from Douglass's example.

Among these latter was Thoreau. Born within months of one another,[30] Thoreau and Douglass appear never to have met in person. Douglass frequently

traveled abroad and absorbed what he learned there; Thoreau never made an Atlantic voyage.[31] And yet the lives of the two men sometimes entwined. Thoreau's *Walden*, published in 1854, following years of editing, has been compared to Douglass's *Narrative*: both works involve the repudiation of and escape from a corrupt society; both record a tale of growing self-reliance and self-confidence. McFeely writes that "Thoreau heard a Wendell Phillips lecture describing Douglass's exodus—and reporting that a written account was on its way—in the spring of 1845 as he was planning his sojourn outside Concord" (115). According to Thoreau biographer Robert Richardson, Jr., it is not "an accident that the earliest stages of Thoreau's move to Walden coincide with . . . the publication of Douglass's narrative of how he gained his freedom. *Walden* is about self-emancipation" (qtd in McFeely 115).

Although they came to the position by profoundly different paths, both Thoreau and Douglass advocated the abolition of Southern slavery. Once, in 1859, when Douglass became unable to fulfill a speaking engagement, Thoreau served as his replacement. "The stand-in did well," writes McFeely, adding that "Henry David Thoreau's 'A Plea for John Brown' was the most powerful address of his life" (202). But intellectuals such as Thoreau did not link slavery in America to bare life existences elsewhere; rather, they expressed outrage at slavery's denial of individual human liberty.

Indeed, the detachment that Thoreau put forward in his "Shipwreck" essay matched that of many of Douglass's sponsors in Ireland, most of whom were middle- to upper-class Protestants. They seemed not particularly concerned by the suffering all around them. McFeely writes, "Douglass did not entirely miss this tragic irony . . ." (126). To the contrary, Douglass's February 1846 letter to Garrison demonstrates his grasp of connections among underclasses in Ireland and America; in McFeely's words, "how real for him was the chain that linked all suffering people" (126). But although Douglass comprehended the irony, "he never brought it up in public addresses," perhaps not wishing to offend his hosts (126). Douglass refrained from offering solutions to the problems that he saw in Ireland. "In lieu of explanation," McFeely concludes, "he resorted to the familiar dodge of blaming drunkenness" (126). It was a dodge—a scapegoat stereotype of which Protestant elites in particular were fond[32]—that Douglass invoked when convenience warranted. As Sweeney shows in her book *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World*, at times during his journey abroad, Douglass posited the starving Irish peasant as a symbol of social difference; in so doing, he enhanced the portrayal of himself as an enlightened expatriate American.

Famine Irish Wash Ashore in America

The ways that Atlantic crossings affected Irish refugees were no less complex. The surge of Irish sojourns had begun out of desperation; as desperation mounted, the number of crossings increased. In all, upwards of 2 million persons were forced to emigrate in less than a decade (Kenny, *American Irish*

89–90). They fled in one-time slave ships and even less seaworthy vessels, enduring conditions that might be called unspeakable had not Keegan's and Whyte's coffin ship memoirs given voice to those conditions. Transatlantic voyages once undertaken only in spring or summer, for safety's sake, continued year-round. Emigrants were thrown to the mercy of the elements. As Thoreau's and Henry's accounts of the *St. John* make clear, not all of them survived.

Exacerbating matters, English and Anglo-Irish landlords eager to shed the burden of Ireland's impoverished surplus population offered their Famine-struck tenants free passage to America. Some landowners endeavored to assure that their tenants' journey would be humane; many did not. In the latter category was John Henry Temple, known as Lord Palmerston—in Trollope's telling, "he was dear old Pam to the normal Englishman" (185).[33] A cabinet member and future British prime minister, "Pam" spent most of his time in London and so never witnessed firsthand the suffering of his Irish tenantry; he did, however, take note of the Famine's drain on his profit margin. In Black '47, the worst year of the disaster, he dispatched 2,000 of his poorest tenants to North America by the cheapest means available. On arrival of the first of the nine Palmerston coffin ships, authorities in Saint John, New Brunswick, were enraged: most persons on board were too old, too young, or too sick to work. Worse was to come. On the next ship, 107 had died of fever, and sixty were seriously ill. Of a third ship, the chief surgeon at the Canadian quarantine station reported: "[M]any are almost in a state of nudity; 99 percent of the passengers on this ship must become a public charge immediately" (qtd in Laxton 77).

The story of the Famine Irish in the United States began much the same way. Their demographic impact was considerable: of all immigrants to the United States in the 1840s nearly half, and in the 1850s more than a third, were Irish.[34] They had left Ireland as a matter of survival rather than choice and so were vastly unprepared for the transition. As Kenny notes, "[T]he immigrants of the famine generation were close to the bottom of the American social scale. There were many individual exceptions, of course, but American Irish in the period 1845 to 1870 were clearly the least successful of all European Americans" (109).

The American Protestant elites were appalled, and as in Britain, simianized images of "Paddy" (sometimes, "Mick," or "Mike") and "Bridget" ("Norah") became commonplace in American cultural production. These derogations were indicative of other discrimination the Irish endured on arrival in America, as will be detailed in succeeding chapters. Of special note in the context of this chapter is how fluctuations in the position of this generation, as it voyaged out of one state and sought to anchor itself in another, affected the generation's attitudes and actions toward others.

The fact is that by the late nineteenth century, the transatlantic Irish had been liberated from their barely human status assigned them by the sovereign power of the British colonial state in Ireland. Undoubtedly, discriminatory practices due to their status as "white-if-not-quite"[35] in the

American cultural imaginary caused considerable hardship for the newly arrived, subaltern Irish. Many families struggled for generations to escape the inequitable, often brutal American class system. Even among the more well-to-do Irish Catholic immigrants, these quotidian struggles piqued Irish American anxiety with respect to race. These Irish were far less enamored than Douglass, for instance, with O'Connell's assertions of common cause between Irish liberation and the liberation of enslaved African Americans.[36] Once in America, Famine refugees and their families deigned not to connect their own barely human status in Ireland with the bare life status of any group that America had relegated to the underclass on grounds of "race." Irish America bristled at American nativist depictions that equated it with other groups. An 1876 cover of *Harper's Weekly*, a "most important" US periodical,[37] exemplified such depictions (see Figure 1.3). Sitting in perfect balance in opposite pans of a scale, two men—a barefoot African American designated "Black" and a simianized, leprechaun-garbed Irish American designated "White"—glare at each other. "The Ignorant Vote—Honors Are

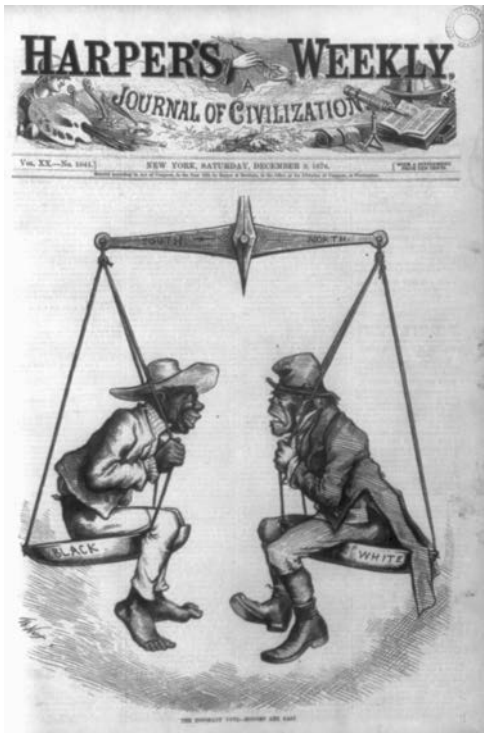

Figure 1.3 "The Ignorant Vote—Honors Are Easy." Cover of *Harper's Weekly*, December 9, 1876.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Easy," reads the caption. As the next chapter details, ordinary Irish shared the anxiety such depictions caused with an ideological apparatus that was central to their new lives, the American Catholic Church.

Irish American anxiety about race surfaced in more sinister ways as well. During the 1863 Draft Riots, Irish mobs burned down New York's Colored Orphan Asylum and murdered and mutilated scores of African Americans (Kenny 124–25). In California in the 1870s and 1880s, the Irish led the often-violent anti-Chinese movement.[38] Examples of inspiring solidarity between the Irish and other ethnicities exist—the San Patricio Battalion is one[39]—but examples like these are the exception rather than the rule. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the American racial state welcomed the Irish as "free white labor," and many Irish responded by enforcing stereotypes that enabled the exclusion, or policing, of groups deemed "non-white."[40] Entering a new calculus of race, they played a key role in defining the American racial state. And one of most importance apparatuses that enabled that role was the Irish-controlled American Roman Catholic Church, to which we turn in the following chapter.

Notes

1. The quoted recollection is from Douglass's memoir titled *My Bondage, My Freedom* (1855), reprinted in *Autobiographies* 364. For an account of the speech, see McFeely 88–90. On Douglass's age and height, see "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html. Accessed 09/13/14. On Douglass's appearance in this period, see Figure 1.2, reproduced later in this chapter.
2. See Kenny, *American Irish* 89–90 (writing that 1.8 million Irish went to North America between 1846 and 1855).
3. Statistics regarding these ships are set forth later in the chapter. See also O'Neill, "Frederick Douglass and the Irish."
4. Because the US racial state is the focus of this book, Famine Irish migration to Canada will not be given a thorough investigation here. Fortunately there is some excellent scholarship on the subject. See King; McGowan.
5. Bernard O'Reilly's writings on the family are analyzed in Chapter 4.
6. See McGowan, "Fame, Facts, and Fabrication."
7. Thoreau, "Shipwreck," 6.
8. Salt reports that immediately after leaving his hut at Walden—located on property owned by Emerson—Thoreau lived at the Emerson's house in Concord, about twenty miles northwest of Boston, while the poet was away in Europe (40, 66). "After Emerson's return to Concord in 1849 Thoreau lived at his father's house in the village, and this continued to be his home for the rest of his life" (*ibid.* 66).
9. For more on "Famine fatigue," see Donnelly.
10. On Catholicism and corporatism, see the introduction.
11. On the gendering of Irish women and Chinese men in the nineteenth-century US cultural imaginary, see Ch. 5.
12. See Jack Morgan's "Thoreau's 'The Shipwreck' (1855): Famine Narratives and the Female Embodiment of Catastrophe."
13. On Kelleher's *The Feminization of the Famine* (1997).
14. For an illuminating examination of the psychoanalytical aspects of Douglass's fight with Covey, see JanMohamed, Ch. 8.

15. The evidence suggests that a total of 98 passengers and 16 crew members were aboard the *St. John* when it sailed from Galway. Roughly ninety people were lost, of whom about one-third were men. Nineteen of victims were classified as children. For further information see *Wreck of the St. John*, http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/history/passlist_stjohn.htm.
16. See Introduction.
17. For a sympathetic treatment of Thoreau's "The Shipwreck" as it relates to the Irish, see Jack Morgan.
18. Thoreau's philosophy naturalizes the gross destruction of human life, a view entirely consistent with the basic tenets of the Manifest Destiny.
19. Today, they more likely would be referred to as "ethnic groups." See Ch. 1. For an excellent account of Emerson's racism, see Nell Irvin Painter's *History of White People*.
20. I first found this quote in Luke Gibbon's *Transformations of Irish Culture* (176).
21. See Introduction.
22. The term "Anglo-Saxon" became somewhat of a joke by the dawn of the twentieth century. Irish American journalist Peter Finley Dunne lampooned the label in his popular syndicated newspaper column, "Mr. Dooley." Writing at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War in 1898, Mr. Dooley pontificates:

    > Mack is an Anglo-Saxon. His folks come fr'm th' County Armagh, an' their naytional Anglo-Saxon hymn is 'O'Donnell Aboo.' Teddy Rosenfelt is another Anglo-Saxon. An' I'm an Anglo-Saxon. I'm wan iv th' hottest Anglo-Saxons that iver come out iv Anglo-Saxony. Th' name iv Dooley has been th' proudest Anglo-Saxon name in th' County Roscommon f'r many years.

    Mr. Dooley in Peace and War (54–55).
23. As the needs of the US racial state took precedence over WASP cultural objections, the term "Anglo-Saxon" faded from American nationalist rhetoric. By then, its meaning had expanded to incorporate certain ethnic groups, including the Irish, into a larger European framework.
24. The voyage is the subject of a brilliant play, *The Cambria: Frederick Douglass's Voyage to Ireland 1845*, by the Irish actor and playwright Donal O'Kelly.
25. Three excellent and more detailed accounts of Douglass's Irish visit have since been published—Sweeney's *Frederick Douglass* (2007), Tom Chaffin's *Giant's Causeway* (2014), and Lawrence Fenton's *Frederick Douglass in Ireland*.
26. Angela Murphy's scholarship shows that O'Connell refused money from New Orleans-based repealers because of the violent anti-British language of the accompanying letter and not, as has been claimed, because of the group's pro-slavery views. See Murphy's *American Slavery, Irish Freedom*. On O'Connell's relationship with a pivotal Irish American, New York Archbishop John Hughes, see Ch. 2 of this volume.
27. As indicated earlier in this chapter, these were *My Bondage, My Freedom* (1855)—an updated and revised version of *A Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave. Written by Himself* (1847)—along with *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (1881, revised 1892). The women's rights movement of the era is further discussed in Ch. 4.
28. For a complete biography of Douglass, see McFeely. See also "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html.
29. Titled "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered," the lecture was delivered on July 12, 1854, at Western Reserve College.
30. Thoreau was born July 12, 1817, in Concord, Massachusetts, and died there, at age forty-four, on May 6, 1862 (Salt 2, 98). Douglass's *New York Times*

obituary states that he was born in 1817 on a plantation in Maryland and died in Washington, D.C., on February 20, 1895, in his seventy-eighth year of life. *See* "Death of Fred Douglass," *New York Times*, Feb. 21, 1895, available at http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0207.html. Other sources place Douglass's birthdate in February 1818.

31. On Douglass, see Sweeney's *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World*. Thoreau's only journey outside the United States was to Quebec; his farthest journey from Massachusetts was to Minnesota (Christie 3–8).
32. Douglass praised Father Theobald Mathew, the Irish friar who founded a temperance movement in 1838 and subsequently endeavored to establish it in the United States. See Ch. 4 of this volume.
33. Palmerston's support of Malthusian ideas is treated in this book's introduction.
34. To be precise, Irish made up 45.6 percent of all immigrants to the United States in the 1840s and 35.2 percent in the 1850s (Kenny, *American Irish* 97–98, 104, 121).
35. See Eagan, "'White,' If 'Not Quite.' "
36. An extreme example may be found in the life story of the Ulster-born Protestant John Mitchel, who immigrated to the United States by way of an 1848 conviction and transportation to what is now Tasmania. I have written about Mitchel's pro-slavery writings and activities in O'Neill, "Memory."
37. Mott (40): in full, this passage of Mott's history of late nineteenth-century US magazines states:

> Perhaps the most important American weekly in existence at the beginning of 1865 was the one for which the Harpers furnished the management, George William Curtis most of the editorials, and Thomas Nast many of the news pictures and cartoons. These three elements, with serial fiction and news articles, combined to make *Harper's Weekly* popular and powerful.
>
> (*ibid.*)

38. See Ch. 6 of this volume.
39. The San Patricio, or St. Patrick, Battalion was composed of Irish immigrants who deserted the Union Army to fight for the Mexicans during the Mexican-American War. For more, see Peter Stevens' *Rogue's March*.
40. Aoki, for instance, writes of the "'Yellow Peril' stereotype," which "embodied Asians as a threat to Western civilization in general, and to the U.S. specifically" then notes that such stereotypes operated in part to "polic[e] Asians within the U.S." (908 n.34).

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2 Irish Catholic Empire Building in America

Beneath the outstretched wings of a sculpted eagle, at a Washington, D.C., pulpit bedecked with velvet, stood the beak-nosed bishop of New York, John Joseph Hughes. Garbing his five-foot-nine frame was an ankle-length soutane trimmed in purple, the same color as the zucchetto that perched atop his discreet toupee. Around his neck was a thick-chained crucifix and on his finger, an ostentatious ring. The fifty-year-old bishop began his sermon with a parable from Scripture then eased into his main theme.[1] "God is alone the Supreme Governor," he said at one point. "There is no work of God that is independent of its supreme author, or of His rule, or His government . . ." (*Complete Works* 1: 563). The sentiment may have caused a start, for the congregants on this Sunday, December 12, 1847, were the several hundred starched white shirts who, less than a week earlier, had been sworn in as the 30th Congress of the United States of America. Hughes had just become one of the first Roman Catholic clerics ever to deliver a speech in the Chamber of Representatives.[2]

The extraordinary occasion had come about via the bipartisan invitation of more than fifty members of the federal legislature (1: 559). WASPs all, the inviters included former President John Quincy Adams, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and Senator John C. Calhoun—among the most anti-Catholic of America's elites. Some of these listeners may have strained to hear a brogue as the cleric began to sermonize, but Hughes had lost the musicality of his native Tyrone accent long ago. Indeed, he sounded thoroughly American. Far from the popish belligerent his critics had made him out to be,[3] the bishop appeared as a conciliatory ecumenist. Claiming no intention to air "those doctrinal subjects, which to a great extent, have divided the Christian world" (1: 561), Hughes embraced the overwhelmingly Protestant assembly as his "beloved brethren" (1: 566). He stood before Congress not as a father, as Catholics call their priests, but as a brother. Most of all, he stood as a patriot, a fervent believer in the power of his religion to help unite the restive US state.[4]

Hughes's sermon took a cue from Jesus, whose teachings "did not seem to interfere with civil Governments of the earth—whether they should be monarchies or republics, despotic or aristocratic . . ." (1: 566). Civil government

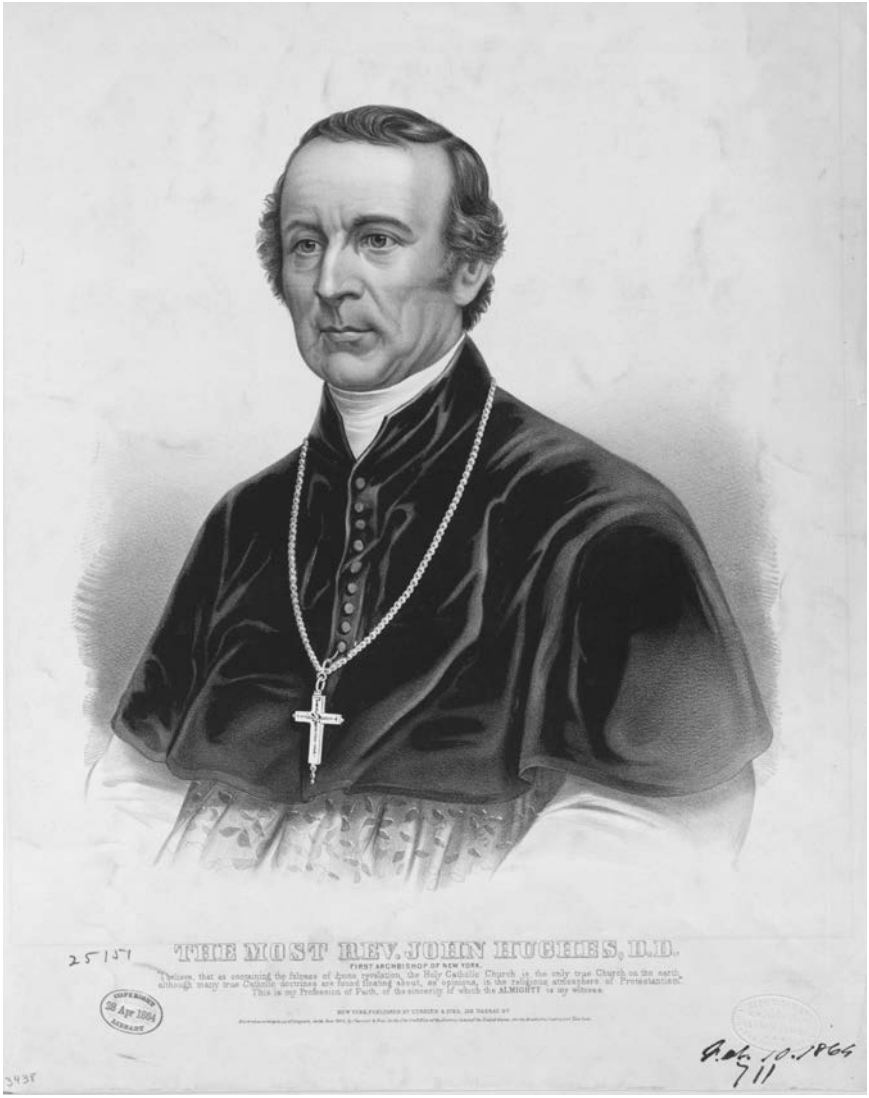

Figure 2.1 "Archbishop John Hughes." Currier & Ives. Circa 1864.
Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

thus was permitted to operate outside the ecclesiastical realm; that said, the bishop envisaged a government guided, as the title of his sermon indicates, by "CHRISTIANITY, THE ONLY SOURCE OF MORAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL REGENERATION" (1: 558; original format). In his view, it was "necessary that the authority of God should lay down those rules for the government

of human conduct which Christ conveyed in his lessons to his disciples" (1: 566). But "those rules" appeared to afford much leeway to policy choices, given that the bishop saw fit to dodge two burning issues of the day. First, as Paul Pinheiro notes, "Hughes said nothing of the Mexican-American War" (152). Perhaps this was out of deference to President James K. Polk, with whom the bishop had worked to secure Catholic participation in the US war against its southern, Catholic neighbor.[5] The omission would become glaring days after the sermon, when a freshman Congressman by the name of Abraham Lincoln filed a resolution questioning the legality of Polk's 1846 entry into the conflict (R. Miller 164–66). Second, Hughes's only reference to the issue with which Lincoln would become most closely associated—slavery—was fleeting. The "subject and the sovereign, the weak and the strong, the oppressed slave and the despotic master, are equally subject to restraint," Hughes preached, adding that "all know, that according to their obedience and conformity to that standard, will be their own eternal destiny in another world" (*Complete Works* 1: 567). The reference acknowledged that a slave might be "oppressed" and a master "despotic, yet suggested that each would meet his or her reward, or punishment, only in the next life. Hughes thus offered succor to both sides of the abolition debate.

Once warmed to the grand surroundings, Hughes asked the gathered gentlemen: "You make laws in this hall of supreme temporal power; but then can you make them binding on the consciences of men?" (1: 567). The bishop assured the legislature that it could but only if those from whom it sought obedience believed "that God sanctions authority—that subordination is necessary to society—that subordination cannot be maintained without laws—that there is a higher and holier Law-maker, who gives sanction to your laws . . ." (1: 566). Hughes implied that if legislators would leave the clergy alone to do its job, its followers "will fear to violate your enactments, even when there is no eye of executive justice resting upon them" (1: 566). Thus did the bishop posit a separation of church and state dependent upon the disciplinary strength of churches—including his own Roman Catholic Church.

Hughes's advocacy of the separation of church and state must have struck some in the audience as rather odd. The Roman Catholic Church was renowned among American Protestants for just the opposite—an unquenchable thirst for political power as evidenced not only through the machinations of the Papal States but also the nature of its internal ultramontane power structure, more of which shortly.[6] The apparent Romanist urge for theocratic governance seemed inimical to tenets of the US Constitution, especially in light of the First Amendment that prohibits the establishment of an official state religion. But the same amendment guarantees the right to practice one's own religion free from government interference, and it was this provision that underlined much of the raison d'etre of Hughes's speech. The Church hierarchy in Europe knew full well that theocratic governance was beyond possibility in America in the early nineteenth century and

thereafter.[7] They had learned that it would have to follow a different path to secure the Catholic Church as an ideological apparatus within the US state. The Church thus navigated between separation and interrelation, applying what Jon Gjerde calls a "plastic readiness" (105). And the American Catholic leader especially at the ready was County Tyrone-born John Hughes.

John Hughes, more than any other Catholic cleric, was responsible for the emergence and growth of the Catholic parochial school system, which as this book will demonstrate, became a major ideological apparatus working on behalf of the US state. Perhaps more than any other cleric, Hughes was responsible also for the strict reinforcement of the patriarchy within the US Catholic Church, not only in relation to his attitude to women in general but Catholic nuns in particular. As a corollary of his strident patriarchal philosophy, Hughes's promotion of the family served to reinforce it as a major ideological state apparatus. Furthermore, Hughes paved the way for the Americanization of the Famine Irish by encouraging their active participation in state apparatuses whether repressive and ideological. Crucially, he understood the racial basis upon which the US state rested and worked to ensure the passage of the Famine Irish from despised immigrant to full or ideal American (white) citizenship. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Hughes was the one of the most influential ideologues of the nineteenth-century US state. Yet remarkably, until now, his story has barely been told.

In Catholicism, Nations' Scattered Debris

At the time of Hughes's sermon to Congress, the worst winter of Ireland's Great Famine—Black'47—already was well underway.[8] Transatlantic emigrants were flooding US cities: 52,946 Irish men, women, and children arrived in New York City alone in 1847. Nearly doubling the next year, that number would peak at 163,306 in 1851 so that by 1860, more than a quarter of New York's population of 800,000 would be Irish born (Diner, "Most Irish" 91–92). The emigrants were not all Irish, nor all destitute, of course, but many poor Irish remained even as their more affluent coreligionists moved up the rungs of society or out of the city altogether.[9] Many Famine-era Irish thus inhabited neighborhoods like the Five Points, the notoriously violent slum later featured in a sensationalist work, *The Gangs of New York*.[10] As a result, nativists shifted their shrieks of alarm away from the Mexican Catholics who, they once had speculated, were amassing at the southern border, and toward the poverty-stricken and disease-ridden Irish Catholics who were, in actual fact, pouring onto the eastern seaboard. Hughes himself recognized New York's newcomers as "the destitute, the disabled, the broken-down, the very aged and the very young, and I had almost added the depraved, of all nations"; the largest group constituted "the scattered debris of the Irish Nation" (qtd in Shaw 222). Richard Shaw notes that although subjugation to the British, Protestant, colonial state "had left Christianity in Ireland weak, both morally and intellectually," the Roman Catholic Church remained a preeminent social force (222).

Required in this moment of crisis was a potentate who could re-indoctrinate the transatlantic Famine Irish in obedience—obedience both to the religion of their ancestors and to the dictates of the state and society in which they had sought refuge. Hughes would prove more than able for the task.

Irish Immigrant, American Seminarian

John Joseph Hughes was born to tenant farmers in 1797, in Annaloghan, in the northern county of Tyrone.[11] It was part of the Clogher Diocese, which then had the island's second-highest parishioner-to-priest ratio—3,200 to 1 (Larkin, "Before" 22). Gaelic was still spoken,[12] and raucous customs thrived, as confirmed by the writings of William Carleton, a Clogher native whose life span coincided with that of Hughes.[13] The Hugheses themselves were devout Catholics—large, close-knit, and teetering on the brink of poverty. Hughes's father, Patrick, and a brother already were in the United States by 1817, the year that John Hughes joined them there. His mother, Margaret, and the rest of the family emigrated soon after. Hughes secured work as a laborer at an Emmitsburg, Maryland, convent founded several years earlier by Elizabeth Ann Seton, a New York native who had converted to Catholicism after her husband succumbed to illness.[14] Already known as Mother Seton—she would become the first US-born Roman Catholic saint—she saw potential in Hughes and recommended him for entry into Mount St. Mary's, a nearby seminary established by Father John Dubois. Dubois was unimpressed with the Irish immigrant's low status and poor education. Not wishing to upset Seton, however, Dubois allowed Hughes to receive occasional tutoring in return for gardening and other duties.

Hughes's other duties included overseeing the seminary's slaves. As described in the biography by Father John Hassard: "His force of laborers consisted chiefly of two negroes, Timothy and Peter . . ." (24). This 1866 work, by Hughes's hagiographer and former aide, neglects to mention that the two men were held as slaves. But Shaw's 1977 account confirms the existence of slavery at the seminary (22), and Hughes himself appears to have been acutely aware of this fact.

John Hughes had entered life as a subject of the British colonial state in Ireland as one of millions of impoverished Catholics whom the state disciplined through repressive measures like the Penal Laws.[15] Patrick Hughes eschewed politics and so was tolerated by his Protestant neighbors—a fact that John believed once had saved him: at age fifteen, bayonet-wielding Orangemen apprehended the younger Hughes, but "when I told them my name the men let me go, saying, 'Alright; we know his father' " (qtd in Hassard 14). John bore colonial injustices with far less equanimity than Patrick, however. In 1861, then-Archbishop Hughes recalled:

> They told me, when I was a boy, that for five days I was on a social and civil equality with the most favored subjects of the British Empire. These

> five days would be the interval between my birth and my baptism. The early information of this fact . . . left a sting in my memory that has cost me much to remove.
>
> (qtd in Hassard 18)

That sting apparently held sway as late as 1820, when Hughes published what Shaw aptly describes as "a long, bitter (and badly composed) poem on the shamefulness of black slavery" (22–23). Titled "The Slave," it opens:

> Hard is the lot of him who's doomed to toil,
> Without one slender hope to soothe his pain,
> Whose sweat and labor are a master's spoil,
> Whose sad reward a master's proud disdain.

Hughes lays blame for this painful state of affairs on the laws of the US state:

> Wipe from thy code, Columbia, wipe the stain;
> Be free as air, but yet be kind as free,
> And chase foul bondage from thy Southern plain:
> If such the right of man, by heaven's decree,
> Oh let Afric's sons feel what it is—to be
>
> (qtd in Hassard 42)

This bold show of empathy with enslaved persons of African ancestry rings quite differently from the deft words of the bishop who, in his 1847 speech to Congress, would seek to appease both sides of the slavery debate.[16] Yet the audacity even of this early work is tempered by the manner of its publication. The poem appeared only in a small weekly in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and only after Hughes had been permitted to enroll as a full-time seminarian. Because the published verse bore only a fanciful pseudonym, "Leander" (Hassard 39), Father Dubois likely never learned that his own student had penned this critique of a practice maintained at the seminary.

Hughes received Holy Orders in 1825. He began to divide his time between the seminary and a parish about 150 miles to the east—St. Mary's, the most prestigious in Philadelphia. There, the newly ordained Father Hughes would play a major part in a controversy destined to shape, in a decisive fashion, church-state relations in the United States.

On the National Frontier of a Transnational Church

By the time that Hughes first set foot in the United States in 1817, the Roman Catholic Church already enjoyed a presence. California and other Spanish Catholic holdings in the West and Southwest were not yet part of the new country, of course. But Louisiana, once a French Catholic colony, had become part of the Union in 1812, and Kentucky, another state with a

large Catholic population, had joined as early as 1792. What is more, one of the original thirteen states—Maryland, site of the Seton convent and the Dubois seminary central to Hughes's formation—had been founded as an English Catholic colony. Underscoring this last fact is the work of Maura Jane Farrelly. Criticizing the conventional view of US Catholicism as an immigrant phenomenon, Farrelly argues persuasively that such a narrow perspective overlooks early American Catholicism's English origins and strong republican sentiment (8–9).

These aspects were not lost on Alexis de Tocqueville, however. Writing in the 1830s, he noted: "The Catholic priests in America have divided the intellectual world into two parts: in the one they place the doctrines of revealed religion, which they assent to without discussion; in the other they leave those political truths which they believe the Deity has left open to free inquiry" (1: 301–02).[17] That demarcation would prove critical to the success of the Catholic Church in the United States of the nineteenth century; indeed, even today one hears echo of that bifurcation. Historian Jay Dolan, for example, discusses his own American Catholic identity by drawing upon W.E.B. Du Bois's notion of African American double-consciousness. Du Bois's 1903 opus, *The Souls of Black Folk*, describes double-consciousness as a "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (9). Perceived, Du Bois adds, is "his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder" (9). The description is not unlike the remark of a fictional Irish protagonist, Stephen Dedalus, in the opening episode of James Joyce's 1922 masterwork, *Ulysses*: "I am a servant of two masters, Stephen said, an English and an Italian . . . [t]he imperial British state . . . and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church" (20). Dolan, in contrast, writes in 2002: "Being a Catholic and an American, I have experienced a different type of twoness. It is a two-ness grounded in religion rather than race. These two fundamental strivings, to be both Catholic and American, have animated me throughout my life, and they are not unreconcilable" (*In Search* 4).

But in 1817—fully a decade before de Tocqueville's observations—the reconcilability of Catholicism and Americanism was not self-evident. John Joseph Hughes was seeking to enter what may be described as a frontier church. North America fell under the administration of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide—the agency, known simply as the Propaganda, responsible for Church administration in non-Roman Catholic countries (J. O'Toole 46–47).[18] But America was a great distance from Rome, and this contributed to great untidiness. Shaw writes that the North American Church was so poorly organized that adherents were "oftentimes dependent on the wandering friars and unconnected clerics who had left Europe to seek their fortunes" (205). Dominant in the East and North were French missionaries and, in the Far West, Spanish priests. What is more, swaths of territory between the bastions of French and Spanish Catholicism constituted the frontier, home

to America's indigenous peoples. Presumed heathens, these Native Americans once had seemed ripe for conversion to the Catholic doctrine; however, disciples of the doctrine called Manifest Destiny[19] had other plans, involving the extermination of Native peoples and the expropriation of their land. On the urban frontier, meanwhile, priests and churches were in short supply, and barriers of culture further separated Catholic leaders from their flock. Notwithstanding Rome's 1814 decision to name Irish-born John Connolly as New York's first resident bishop,[20] in much of the East, French bishops tended to appoint French priests, without regard for the non-French, often-Irish ethnicity of the masses landing in the United States after months-long Atlantic crossings. "If bishops continued to prefer priests from the continent to those of Ireland it will harm the Church," Connolly warned the Vatican in an 1818 letter. He added: "The Catholic population consists mainly of Irishmen; they build churches and expect priests who understand them" (qtd in Shaw 17).

An additional challenge came from American nativists—not the least among them John Quincy Adams, the son of the second US President.[21] Having entered the federal Senate as early as 1803, Quincy Adams would go on to serve as president from 1825 to 1829 and as a member of the House of Representatives from 1831 until his death in 1848. He acquired a reputation for anti-Catholic views as early as 1821 on account of a Fourth of July speech he gave while serving as the US Secretary of State.[22] This Independence Day speech—delivered, like the Hughes speech with which this chapter opens, in the House Chamber—contains a lengthy passage on "corruptions and usurpations" by the Roman Catholic Church (Adams). The Quincy Adams speech first maintains that the Church's asserted failings necessitated the Protestant Reformation, and then celebrates that Reformation as "a step in the progress of man" (Adams). An iteration of the American exceptionalist origins myth,[23] the speech pointedly places Catholicism outside the frame of American patriotism.

Faced with this combination of turmoil within and hostility without—not to mention pressing concern about the fate of the Church in Europe[24]—the Vatican-based Propaganda seemed unsure how to proceed in the fledgling United States. It did not respond to pleas from its US hierarchy and even neglected to fill hierarchical vacancies.[25] In effect, it left the American Church to fend for itself. Into this leadership vacuum flowed subversive ideas, such as the notion that lay congregants—through their representatives, the trustees—could play a major role in parish operations. That heresy was in full flower by the time that Father John Hughes arrived at St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia.

Trustees, Ultramontanes, and Corporate Sovereignty

"Here no church, Catholic or Protestant can possess temporal goods nor income in its name," New York Bishop John Connolly explained to the Vatican in 1818. For any religious structure "built by public money," he added,

"the congregation must yearly elect trustees to administer the property and priests as such have no right to interfere with this property" (qtd in Shaw 27). Lay trustees' considerable power risked undermining hierarchical authority.

In Philadelphia, tension had been mounting for years by the time Hughes arrived in 1825; at the center of these controversies was Hughes's Irish-born superior, Bishop Henry Conwell.[26] In 1820 Conwell had clashed with a dapper Irish-born cleric by the name of Fr. William Hogan: angered by his overly secular lifestyle, Conwell initially suspended and eventually excommunicated him.[27] But St. Mary's lay trustees favored the sparkling personality of the immigrant cleric—who had managed to conceal the fact of his suspension from the priesthood in Dublin—and so in 1820 they had sided with him and against their bishop (Shaw 29). Rancor from that skirmish lingered when Hughes arrived, although Conwell's nemesis had changed. Replacing the dapper cleric were two Irish Dominican priests, William Vincent Harold and John Ryan, who tried to ally with the trustees and against the bishop. At issue was the power to determine salaries and appointments. When Conwell suspended Harold in 1827, pewholders met at a Philadelphia hotel to protest what they called a "dangerous and revolting example of arbitrary power" (Clay 589). They resolved to ask Pope Leo XII for "a speedy and permanent remedy against the abuse" (Clay 589).[28]

By 1828, the Vatican's Propaganda had had enough; it called Conwell to Rome and ordered Harold and Ryan to Cincinnati. The bishop reluctantly obeyed. But the Dominicans did not: Harold wrote the Propaganda that its edict constituted a "sentence of removal which no foreign prince is allowed to pass on an American citizen. . . . We could not obey without violating the loyalty we have sworn to the Republic" (qtd in Shaw 51). To bolster this invocation of American privilege, over the course of the dispute, the Dominicans and the St. Mary's trustees even petitioned secular US officials. John Quincy Adams, then the US president, expressed sympathy for their cause (52). Hugh Nolan writes that "it is doubtful if any incident in the American church up to that time caused Rome more consternation and concern than the appeal made to the government of the United States by the two Dominicans" (73). The US official with foremost responsibility for foreign relations—Secretary of State Henry Clay—responded in a manner exemplary of the twoness of the American Catholic. As summarized in his papers, Clay's May 1827 diplomatic epistle to his Vatican counterpart both gave a nod to Church authority and reaffirmed the protection that the US state accords its polity: "Disclaims involvement in their concern, 'it being a fundamental principle in the institutions of the United States not to mix together the affairs of State and Church,' but testifies to the 'high respect and Esteem' which these citizens enjoy" (Clay 588).

Vatican officials drew the same Church-state line in subsequent talks, conducted in Paris by the US and papal envoys to France. The latter shrewdly conceded that the Vatican held no civil power over Harold or Ryan. The men were free to leave the Church at any time, he said; however, if they wished to

remain within its fold, they must obey its orders (Shaw 52–53). He likened these rules to those of any employer-employee relationship. The papal nuncio in essence claimed for the Roman Catholic Church in America a status that Joshua Barkan calls, in his impressive, eponymously titled monograph, "corporate sovereignty" (8).[29]

Analyzing conventional, profit-seeking business enterprises, Barkan stresses that corporations and states both turn to disciplinary methods to instill order within their own institutions as well as "across places and territories in which they operate" (5). He identifies sovereign attributes in the corporation's exercise over "the border between inside and outside of constituted political spheres" (8)—an exercise that Barkan analogizes to Giorgio Agamben's concept of exclusion.[30] Barkan writes that the corporation, a legal person extant apart from the state, is permitted "to function as a mode of sovereignty that emerged in conjunction with modern nation-states and has been particularly effective in governing populations" (8).

This book extends Barkan's analysis. Taking up John Carlos Rowe's call to examine "nineteenth-century religion's powerful transnational reach and the forces it employed" ("Religious" 45), it underscores that the world's largest transnational corporation is not primarily a business enterprise but rather an apparatus of religious ideology: the Roman Catholic Church.[31] The presence of the Church in North America predates and coincides with the formation and history of the US state.[32] Coexistence was not always smooth. But the Church learned from disputes like the Philadelphia trustee crisis of the 1820s. Over time, the Church brought its internal disciplinary structures in line with the disciplinary structures of external partners—to be precise, with the US state and its preferred economic structure, capitalism. Aiding this process were, as noted a little earlier, the religion clauses of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which state that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." The passage reinforced a vision of separate spheres for religion and state—a vision embraced alike by US officials like Secretary Clay and by Church hierarchy like the papal nuncio.

It would be naïve to argue that some epiphanous north star revealed separation as the way forward. Dolan points out that "religious freedom meant religious indifferentism, an idea that was anathema for Catholics. Moreover many Churchmen regarded the temporal power of the pope as . . . an infallible doctrine. . . . Such thinking was based on the idea of the union of church and state, with the church being the more perfect and superior society in this unique marriage" (*In Search* 106). Unity of church and state represented an ultimate form of the Church doctrine of the "ultramontane." Loosely translated from Latin, the word means "beyond the mountains"—that is, the Alps, a site in a Church struggle begun in seventeenth-century France. Ultramontanes, who promoted strict obedience to papal authority and an uncompromising hierarchical structure, competed against Gallicans, who insisted that the monarch in Paris should manage the affairs of the French

Church independently of Rome's papal authority.[33] The dispute lost force in France when the revolution of 1789–1799 spurred the execution of the king, his family, and many priests, as well as the destruction of state and Church properties. Transnationally, the dispute and its result fueled ousters of monarchies all over Europe and hastened the spread of republicanism, liberalism, socialism, individualism, and democracy—all of which the Roman Catholic Church perceived as threats to its authority. Ultramontane Church leaders strove to curtail modernist leanings toward local or national autonomy by reinforcing a strict hierarchical structure—a retrenchment that drove a nineteenth-century Catholic revival that swept Europe and crossed the Atlantic to North America (McGreevy 12–13).

Ultramontanism evolved into a transatlantic socioreligious disciplinary movement tied to notions of religious devotion, respectability, strong work ethic, family values, and an unquestioning obedience to the laws of the capitalist state as well as to those of God. Advanced as tactics in this movement, which Emmet Larkin aptly has labeled the "devotional revolution,"[34] were dogmas like the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin—not to mention the meta-dogma of papal infallibility.[35] In the words of Emile Perreau-Saussine, by 1850 ultramontanes "had secured total victory" (49), particularly in European Catholic strongholds like post-Famine Ireland.

Ultramontane Cleric and American Loyalist

During Philadelphia trustee dispute of the 1820s, John Hughes—then a young priest of low rank—toed a delicate line. On the one hand, in the face of the laity's democratic demands, he expressed strong support in private for both his bishop and the concept of hierarchical authority. On the other hand, he declined to get involved in the dispute publicly (Hassard 56). It was a combination of principle and pragmatism that would serve Hughes well throughout his long career.

In the nineteenth century, an influential US fraction saw the Catholic Church as an impediment to the national narrative then under construction; in the view of these nativists, Catholicism was antimodern and transnational and, therefore, un-American. Catholics, they argued, could not obey both the pope, then still the temporal leader of Europe's Papal States, and the US nation-state. Meanwhile, Catholics themselves were in disarray, at risk of losing fidelity to Church practice—even at risk of apostasy or, just as bad, conversion to Protestantism.

As the remainder of this chapter demonstrates, Hughes devised a multilayered strategy to counter these challenges. From his early days as a priest through to his death as an archbishop, he solidified the authority of Church hierarchy by rooting out trusteeism. In its place he installed a Catholic form of communitarianism grounded in a highly structured parish system. He demanded of these parishioners loyalty not only to the Church but also to the

US state. At the same time, he initiated an ambitious building program that thrust Catholicism firmly into the public sphere. Thomas J. Shelley writes that from 1840 to 1865, "Hughes added sixty-one new parishes, twenty-four of them in Manhattan and the other thirty-seven on Staten Island and in the seven upstate counties. . . . By 1863 there were thirty-two Catholic Churches in New York City where forty years earlier there had been only two churches" (137).

What is more, Hughes strove to construct an alignment—an alignment then without precedent in world history—of Catholic political ideology with that of the democratic state. He recognized that if Catholicism were to grow alongside the US state in formation, the two entities would have to forge bonds of functional commonality even as they maintained formal separation. Hughes cultivated influence among the US power elite to dispel their fear and negativity regarding Catholicism, and whenever possible, he threw full support behind repressive state apparatuses such as the US Army; this is apparent in his responses both to the Mexican War and to the Civil War. Hughes, in short, saw the need to promote the ideal of liberal democracy outside the Church, even as he repressed bids for greater democracy within Church ranks. Supplementing his disciplinary measures was a cadre of writers whose Hughes-inspired cultural production helped place Irish Catholics at the core of ideological and repressive apparatuses.[36]

Central to this effort was hierarchical control of Irish Catholic women. Faye Dudden reports that in 1845 alone, British authorities calculated a staggering £1.73 million were remitted to Ireland from America. Dudden assumes that a large proportion came from Irish female servants (61).[37] That is because Irish girls and women—unlike females of other European ethnicities—frequently immigrated solo to the United States and, once there, often found work in domestic service, laundries, and the like.[38] Their economic might constituted an important source of funds, not only for relatives in Ireland, but for the material growth of the Catholic Church in America. No less important were the pivotal roles that women played in family structure: laywomen eventually married, bore children, and brought up families, whereas women who entered religious orders often shouldered the primary responsibility for the education of those children.[39]

It is thus no surprise that the disciplining of these women rests at the core of Hughes's strategy. A good case in point is Hughes's treatment of the Sisters of Charity in 1846. In *Habits of Compassion*, an excellent study of Irish nuns in New York, Maureen Fitzgerald charts Hughes's successful attempt to wrest power from the motherhouse in Emmitsburg (42–52). His insistence that he have full control of nuns in his diocese became a blueprint for other bishops to follow. "The subordination of the Sisters of Charity of New York under episcopal rule," writes Fitzgerald, "made clear to sisters throughout the country that they were vulnerable to the church's male power" (51). Fitzgerald contends that Hughes was so determined to build the parochial school system that he appropriated the sisters' labor, compelling them to

teach rather than to aid the city's destitute Famine Irish (42–43). Patriarchal authority thus was reinforced, according to Fitzgerald. So too class divisions: only the more affluent could afford to send their children to the better Catholic schools, whereas "poor children had access only to Catholic 'free schools' " (49).

As for lay females, the cultural production that Hughes sponsored pointed them—and at times, the rowdy males whom they were supposed to domesticate—toward an ideal Irish Catholic American life. His own sermons reinforced this effort. In one, Hughes insists that "[t]he first form of society . . . was domestic," that "families existed, before nations were formed," and that even in his era, "the head of the family was the protector of his household" (*Complete Works* 1: 374). In another sermon, he preaches: "A family is itself a State: it is a corporation in which there is form and dominion, and order . . ." (1: 355).

That last sentence situates the family at the foundation of Hughes's Catholic empire-building project. It further reveals the deliberateness with which Hughes endeavored to construct for the American Catholic Church a lasting status as a corporate sovereign within the sovereign United States. Nowhere were these efforts more evident than in New York,[40] where Hughes's influence remains visible in the form of the Catholic temple only half-complete at his death: St. Patrick's Cathedral, the 87,000 square-foot Gothic edifice whose twin steeples still tower over Fifth Avenue.[41]

After more than a decade of service in Philadelphia, Hughes became a coadjutor bishop in the Diocese of New York, charged by Rome to assist the ailing Bishop John Dubois, Connolly's successor and the same man who once had denied Hughes entry into Mount St. Mary's Seminary. The Frenchman's aloofness had gained him many enemies among New York's Catholics (Shaw 115–18).[42] Hughes too had an uneasy relationship with his former rector, but as he once had done with Conwell in Philadelphia, Hughes remained loyal to his superior.

On arrival in 1838, Hughes found himself in the middle of another contest between the hierarchy and lay trustees. Father Thomas Levins, an Irish priest at odds with Dubois, had fired a Sunday school teacher, calling police when the teacher refused to leave the cathedral school. Cathedral trustees backed Levins over Dubois. Levins's subversion of the sacred chain of command, coupled with his involvement of state forces in Church affairs, infuriated the newly arrived Bishop Hughes, who set about teaching everyone some lessons of his own. At Masses the following Sunday, Hughes demanded, but did not receive, an apology from the trustees. Then he called a mass meeting, at which he appealed to his audience—as many as 700 persons—on the ground of their mutual Irishness and their shared history of oppression at the hands of English Protestantism. Hughes insisted that submission to the trustees' actions would be worse: "What Protestant England could never accomplish they were now willing to do to themselves" (qtd in Shaw 130). Having thus stirred Irish nationalist feelings, Hughes proposed a series of

resolutions in support of Bishop Dubois's authority. The most significant deserves quotation in full:

> Resolved, that we know no difference between the authority of the Holy Church and that authority with which she has invested her bishops, for carrying on her mission and for our spiritual good; and that we hold it as unworthy of our profession as Roman Catholics to oppose ourselves or to suffer any one in our name to oppose any let, obstacle, or hindrance—*no matter how legal such act may be*—which would hinder or prevent our bishop from the full, free, and entire exercise of the rights, powers, and duties which God has appointed as inherent in his office, and the Church authorized him to preserve, exercise and fulfil.
>
> (qtd in Hassard 195, emphasis added)

As Shelley notes, Hughes's tactics were "sheer demagoguery, but the young bishop's words went down like treacle with the pewholders" (111). The resolution passed without any voiced dissent. In one fell swoop, Hughes established his authority, paving the way for the return of hierarchical power, and proved his loyalty to Dubois, earning his superior's complete confidence. Hughes crushed trusteeism so effectively that it never again would present a sustained challenge. His actions impressed Rome, vanquished nearly all his diocesan foes, and signaled to his Irish parishioners that he was cast in their mold.[43] Especially significant were the words italicized in the previous quote. No act by any temporal, civil authority—"no matter how legal such an act may be"—could displace the authority of the men at the top of the clerical hierarchy. Catholic New York was in Bishop Hughes's pocket.

Bringing the Schools Crisis to the Ballot Box

Hughes's effort on behalf of American Catholicism soon led him into the most sacred site of American secularism, the voting booth. Driving him there were US educational practices. As John McGreevy states: "The desire for a state monopoly on education escalated in tandem with nineteenth-century nationalism throughout Europe, with schools increasingly understood as the crucible of citizen formation" (112). The phenomenon extended to early nineteenth-century America, where education, ostensibly public, was very much a Protestant affair. Government textbooks abounded with anti-Catholic rhetoric, and Protestant teachers often proselytized their Catholic students. As a result, many Irish Catholic immigrant parents withheld their children from school. An incensed Bishop Hughes campaigned to have sectarianism removed from New York's public school curriculum—run by a Protestant-led Public School Society—even as he demanded that Catholics be given public funds to educate their children themselves. He importuned US elites like New York Governor William Seward and his chief advisor, Thurlow Weed; they expressed approval yet failed to deliver the support

of their Whig Party.[44] Democrats also balked, for their nativist, Protestant fraction saw in the campaign un-American demands from ungrateful Irish immigrants.

Hughes countered with an astonishing move: in the November 1841 elections, he ran a slate of candidates who favored his policies (Hamburger 219–29). His stump speech demonstrated a flare for Irish Catholic demagoguery. "You now, for the first time, find yourselves in a position to at least vote for yourselves," Hughes told the crowd at an October rally at New York's Carroll Hall. "Will you then stand by the rights of your offspring, who have for so long a period, from generation to generation, suffered under the operation of this injurious system?" That inquiry initiated a political litany. Ralliers responded to each of Hughes's questions—"Will you adhere to the nomination made?" "Will you be united?" "Will you let all men see that you are worthy sons of the nation to which you belong?" "Will you prove yourself worthy of friends?"—with ever-more-enthusiastic "loud cries," such as "Never fear—we will!" and "We will to death!" with "terrific cheering," with an "immense assembly rising en masse," and with the "waving of hats, handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of applause." When Hughes's next query—"Will none of you flinch?"—was met with a scene reportedly "exceeding all the enthusiastic, and almost frenzied displays of passionate feeling we have sometimes witnessed at Irish meetings," Hughes matter-of-factly advised his new-made electorate: "Very well then, the tickets will be prepared and distributed among you, and on the day of the election go like freemen, with dignity and calmness, entertaining due respect for your fellow-citizens and their opinions, and deposit your votes" (Hughes, *Collected Works* 1: 283).

The excerpt chronicles the first real attempt at organizing the Irish as a unified US voting bloc. As Shaw observes, "The hyphenated American was not yet a great force to be reckoned with in United States politics, but during 1841 John Hughes had done much to teach them that they were not merely a conglomeration of votes, but a unified voice as well" (169). The Democratic Party long had taken the Irish vote for granted. But in this election, the only Democratic winners were on Hughes's Carroll Hall slate. Democrats in Albany soon curbed the power of the Public School Society—even as Hughes himself moved Catholics out of public schools in favor of the network of Catholic parochial schools that he ordered to be built (Shelley 125).[45] Hughes's victory, widely reported in Europe and throughout the United States, earned him the allegiance of Irish Americans and the enmity of America's restless nativists—and no doubt contributed to the bipartisan invitation that Congress extended several years later in 1847.[46]

Giving Catholic Aid to American Presidents and Politicians

In the interim between the electoral success and the congressional invitation, the United States went to war. Hughes—bishop of New York since the death of Dubois in 1842 (Shelley 107)—came to the aid of an embattled

US president and so established a pattern that would persist for the balance of his life. Bitterness between the United States and Mexico dated at least to the dispute over Texas in the 1820s and had festered ever since.[47] In April 1846 Mexico announced an intent to fight a defensive war and so sent troops across the border. Within weeks, Congress had approved President Polk's request for a declaration of war. Formal hostilities ended two years later. "The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended a war lost by Mexico and, as some have put it, accomplished the conquest of the Southwest," Kevin R. Johnson writes.[48]

Early on, the war posed threats to the American president and to American Catholics alike. Nativists long had railed against what they deemed the priest-ridden neighbor to the south, and they stepped up their rhetoric as hostilities broke out, warning that a US victory would bring in swarms of Papists. As for Catholics already in, nativists asked whether Irish Catholics in the US Army could be trusted to attack their coreligionists on the Mexican side (Shaw 213–15). In point of fact, discontent abounded among these soldiers, with as many as a thousand deserting (Stevens 3). Approximately 120 of these deserters eventually joined the Mexican Army and formed the San Patricio Battalion, reputedly a brave and effective group of combatants.[49]

The US state had a Catholic problem. On the one hand, the strong nativist element within the elite needed to be appeased; on the other hand, the state needed bodies to fill army ranks. In an example of Nicos Poulantzas's contention that the state's long-term interests will trump the desires of any one fraction—even a fraction in the state's ruling bloc—the latter need proved stronger.[50]

President Polk, whom Shaw calls "a practical-minded businessman" (216), determined to seek advice from a Catholic bishop. US Secretary of State James Buchanan eschewed the official head of the Church in favor of New York's Bishop Hughes, already the de facto leader of America's Catholics, plus a bishop from Iowa.[51] In a meeting at the US State Department, Buchanan conveyed to these two bishops the president's offer to lift the long-standing ban on Catholic chaplains. He made clear that the new chaplains would not be accorded official status. The two clergymen did not balk; seeing an opportunity not only to provide for the spiritual needs of Catholics in the army but also to advance the political status of the Catholic Church, and keen to show fealty to the state, they sped to Georgetown to recruit Jesuits.

Next, Bishop Hughes met with the president at the White House. Hassard reports that the New Yorker received an "intimation" of Polk's intention to send him to Mexico as a personal envoy but on "advice of the council" decided not to accept "unless the Government would give him the full rank and title of a diplomatic ambassador" (286). This was not forthcoming, and so the appointment was not made, although rumors of its possibility swirled as late as Hughes's December 1847 speech to Congress.[52] What is certain is that Hughes maintained a cordial relationship with Polk, impressed no

doubt at how the president had weathered nativist wrath after news of their meetings leaked (Shaw 216–19).

Increasingly, Hughes came to personify not only the Catholic Church in America but also the Irish Catholic as loyal US citizen. The 1847 Washington meetings soon were followed by the triumph in Congress and by meetings with successions of presidents and cabinet members. On trips to Europe Hughes—appointed New York's first archbishop in 1850 (Shelley 107)—met with heads of state and members of the European aristocracy, with leading intellectuals, and of course with Vatican luminaries. Hughes even was invited to be the guest speaker at a bulwark of Protestantism, the annual dinner in commemoration of the Pilgrims' 1620 landing at Plymouth Rock (Shaw 240).

Giving aid to Hughes's efforts, meanwhile, were his more well-to-do parishioners. Kerby Miller observes that "the Irish-American bourgeoisie had to gain acceptance from and access to the classes and institutions that governed native society; more immediately, it also had to assert a social and cultural hegemony over its own lower classes . . ." (*Ireland* 260).[53] To these ends, the Irish American bourgeoisie founded charitable organizations with names like the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick (Diner, "Most Irish" 94). Hughes himself became the first depositor with the Emigrant Saving Bank, a successful Irish-run and owned financial institution that catered to new arrivals.[54] The bishop and his supporters thus sought to cement their place within US state structures. Nativist enemies in turn gave Hughes the moniker "Dagger John," ostensibly because of his episcopal signature, "† John." Hughes embraced the nickname as a backhanded compliment to his combative tenacity.

The Archbishop Breaks with Irish Rebels

Throughout his life, in letters, sermons, and speeches, Hughes never shirked from criticizing British policy in Ireland. As early as 1829, while still a priest in Philadelphia, he had preached "On the Emancipation of Irish Catholics":

> So if a people are oppressed, if their treaties are violated, if their generous confidence is abused, and their professions disbelieved, and their honor doubted, and their sacred rights invaded, and their liberties trodden under foot—if, in a word, they have lost everything except a paltry life, which, but for the hope of religion, would not be worth endurance, then it is not to be wondered at, if such a people sometimes turn on their oppressors in the spirit of vindictive retribution. This has been the case more than once in unhappy Ireland.
>
> (*Complete Works* 1: 38)

No less than his pugnacious leadership, Hughes's oft-repeated antipathy to British rule in Ireland helped the Famine Irish refugees who inundated New

York from the mid-1840s onward to see in their new archbishop one of their own. Notably, however, Hughes opposed violence that he deemed a threat. His Philadelphia sermon had expressed understanding of, yet not condoned, armed resistance to British rule—and he opposed all violence impeding the US state in formation. Bearing this out is Hughes's turnabout with respect to the Young Irelanders. Hughes had arrived in the United States well after a prior wave of Irish revolutionaries, the escapees from the 1798 Rebellion of the United Irishmen. Presbyterians and Catholics, these Irish republicans had been welcomed as heroes in Jeffersonian America.[55] The Young Irelanders proved to be not quite so much to the establishment's—or Hughes's own—tastes.

Initially, Young Ireland signified a movement of well-to-do intellectuals who published Dublin's *Nation* and sought to revive Irish customs.[56] Its importance had waned by mid-1848, but then a faction attacked the Royal Irish Constabulary in County Tipperary. Revolutionary fever gripped Irish America, and Hughes caught the bug. At an August meeting at Vauxhall Garden, he charged the British colonial government with "the death by starvation of one million Irishmen" (*Complete Works* 2:791). He said he spoke neither as a bishop, nor as an Irishman, but as an American citizen who would not contravene US laws. Still, Hughes urged his listeners to give funds to the organizers, the Directory of the Friends of Ireland, which supported armed insurrection. Producing the astounding sum of $500 (Shaw 234), Hughes said he would contribute "for a shield, not for a sword; but you can contribute for what you choose" (2:792). His endorsement came to naught: although the news had not yet reached America, the 1848 rebellion had lasted barely four hours. The British Army was not even involved.[57]

Once discovered, the ineptitude of the Young Irelanders enraged Hughes. In an article published in the *Freeman's Journal* less than a month after his Vauxhall Garden speech, he urged Irish American Catholics not to give any more money to the cause: "We fear that of the amount which reached that country much has been absorbed by numerous officials laboring in the cause of patriotism, as if it were a profession from which pecuniary recompense was to be derived" (*Complete Works* II: 795).[58] In proceeding to attack the Young Irelanders for blaming their failure on the Catholic Church, Hughes foreshadowed a dispute that would erupt when one of the rebels found refuge in the United States.[59]

On arriving in New York, the fugitive Thomas D'Arcy McGee[60] established a newspaper, *The Nation*, in which he repeated the allegation that Irish Catholic clergy had urged their parishioners not to participate in the rebellion. Hughes branded McGee an anti-Catholic and demanded that "every diocese, every parish, every Catholic door" be closed against his newspaper (qtd in Hassard 310–11). "The Irish do not require the strong doses of patriotism which he administers," Hughes said, urging that McGee's "countrymen here should mind first their duty to God, to their families, and

to the country in which they live" (qtd in Hassard 311). Biographer Hassard writes of Hughes:

> [H]e wished the naturalized Irishman of the United States to regard themselves as American citizens—not as exiles; and he deprecated every thing that tended to separate them from the rest of the people. He was no friend to Irish 'military societies,' 'trade societies,' 'clubs,' 'institutes,' and similar organizations—among other reasons, because they were apt to prevent their members from coalescing with their native-born fellow citizens."
>
> (311–12)

Hughes himself more bluntly told his congregation: "In your social and political relations you must become merged in the country of your adoption" (312). The bishop's campaign, coupled with McGee's reputed condescension toward the city's Irish, forced *The Nation*'s demise, and the fugitive soon left for Boston (Shaw 236).

No doubt events elsewhere in 1848 influenced Hughes's hostility toward the Irish rebel. Successful revolutions had shaken the European political establishment, of which the Catholic Church was a part. News of the Pope's flight from Rome in December of that year disturbed Hughes—as did adoption by Irish republicans of mainland Europe's red republicanism, with its anti-clerical rhetoric (Hassard 312). There was yet another reason for Hughes's opposition to radical groups. In a comment to Orestes Brownson, the New England intellectual convert to Catholicism, Hughes declared: "I will suffer no man in my diocese that I cannot control" (qtd in Shaw 304–05). On this, he was true to his word.

Fenianism and Ultramontanism

The nostalgic tug of the homeland, coupled with the need to keep close to his Irish flock in America, found Hughes espousing Irish solidarity throughout much of his career. At times he seemed sympathetic to militants. But frequently his preference for order, in the state as in the Church, won out. Illustrative are two events in the wake of the rebellions of 1848.

Ten years later, former Young Irelanders and other dissidents formed political societies on either side of the Atlantic: the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States and the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in Ireland. "The relationship between the IRB and the Fenian Brotherhood quickly became hopelessly entangled," Michael Hanagan writes (57). As a result, soon "the entire movement became publicly known as the 'Fenians' " (57). At one point as many as 50,000 persons had joined in each country, and the movement enjoyed many more sympathizers (McCaffrey 150). Amy Martin writes that Fenianism "signaled a radical critique of and challenge to . . . the

modern state form, a critique that has distinctly transnational and internationalist dimensions" ("Fenian Fever" 22).[61] The various branches engaged in forms of anticolonial agitation; Martin notes that some Fenians advocated nonviolent resistance, while others pushed for militarism (*Alter-Nations* 63). The latter faction was particularly active in the 1860s, via tactics that ranged from bombings to a series of unsuccessful attempts to invade British-controlled Canada (Meagher, *Columbia* 250–52). The transnational nature of the movement posed problems on both sides of the Atlantic. In Ireland, Lawrence J. McCaffrey writes, "[N]ext to the British government, the Catholic Church in Ireland was the leading foe of Fenianism" (150). The death of Fermanagh-born Terence Bellew McManus exposed both this antipathy and the more conflictual attitude in Hughes's Catholic America.

McManus had been transported by the British to what is now Tasmania for his part in the 1848 Young Ireland rebellion. He had escaped, however and settled in San Francisco. When he died there in poverty in 1861, US Fenians orchestrated a hero's return to his native Ireland. San Francisco's Archbishop Joseph Alemany recited prayers over the coffin.[62] McManus's cortège then traveled by road and rail to New York, where another Young Ireland convict-turned-escapee, Thomas Francis Meagher, had secured the help of the archdiocesan leader. "Placing loyalty to a fellow Ulsterman and empathy for nationalist sentiments above episcopal solidarity," McCaffrey writes, "Archbishop John Hughes said a funeral Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral" (151). Some listeners heard in the sermon at this Solemn High Requiem Mass Hughes's "tacit approval" of Fenianism (Hanagan 57).[63] The New Yorker's act of saying Mass for the dead Fenian contrasted greatly with McManus's reception in Ireland.

McManus, and the many thousand persons who lined the route from Cork to Dublin to pay their respects, were condemned at the altar. Forbidden to rest in peace on Church property, McManus is buried to this day at Glasnevin, Dublin's non-denominational cemetery. Among the Irish populace, these slights rankled for decades. Joyce's *Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man* (1916) includes Mr. Casey's diatribe against "the bishops of Ireland" (38). Casey rails: "Didn't they denounce the fenian movement from the pulpit and in the confessionbox? And didn't they dishonor the ashes of Terence Bellew McManus?" (38). Casey then spits sarcasm as a particular culprit: "[L]ittle old Paul Cullen! Another apple of God's eye" (38).

Although just seven years younger than Hughes, Paul Cullen had enjoyed a childhood far different from that of the elder Irish cleric.[64] The younger man had been born thirty-eight miles east of Dublin into a family of prosperous Catholic landowners who made sure that their children received superb educations. Cullen attended a Carlow boarding school early on and, while still a teenager, entered the Rome college run by the Propaganda, the agency responsible for governance in Catholicism's far reaches. By the time of his ordination in 1829, Cullen was recognized, even by the pope, for his vast knowledge of theology and languages.

Twenty years later—in 1849, as the Great Famine's worst years were nearing an end—Rome sent Cullen to Ireland to lead the northern See of Armagh.[65] Within a year, Archbishop Cullen had convened Ireland's first major ecclesiastical gathering, the Synod of Thurles, where he advanced what Larkin labels the devotional revolution.[66] A centralized and authoritarian regime, led by an infallible pope, would govern the Irish clergy, some of whom had become rather nationalistic.[67] Meanwhile, Irish parishioners would be required to attend Mass faithfully and adhere to other conservative, disciplinary practices.[68] Public observance of the old Gaelic customs came to an end.[69] In the pastoral address prepared at Thurles, Irish bishops urged congregants to display "patience and resignation" and further "to respect the rights of property, to honour the rank and station of the great and powerful, to be grateful for favors received, and to pour forth fervent prayers for their benefactors" (qtd in Bowen 119).[70] As indicated by the rant of Joyce's Mr. Casey, the result was ultra-ultramontanism, a system of biopolitical governance that, not infrequently, the Catholic Church in Ireland offered in service to the British colonial state. This unholy union dismayed many Irish—not the least Joyce, who wrote in a 1907 essay: "I confess I do not see what good it does to fulminate against the English tyranny while the tyranny of Rome still holds the dwelling place in my soul" ("Ireland" 125).

A comment attributed to Cullen serves as a retort: "The first duty of every Catholic is to support the government unless it attacked the Church" (qtd in Rafferty, *Church, State* 5). The statement serves as justification for the disciplinary structure of the post-Famine Church that Cullen—named cardinal in 1866—would lead until his death in 1878. It serves as well to explain the similar disciplinary regime of another Church leader, Cullen's American ally, John Hughes. Hughes had been reared in a Tyrone diocese short on Catholic priests and long on pre-Christian customs that Cullen later helped drive out of Ireland. Hughes likewise had instilled devotional dogmatism among his flock in the United States. And in 1862, in Dublin, he went so far as to suggest that submission even to British rule might advance the Irish people. The occasion was the laying of the cornerstone for a Cullen project, the Catholic University of Ireland.[71] Referring to Irish Catholics, Hughes predicted that "the period cannot be far distant when the British empire will need their services, whether in the cabinet or in the field, and will avail itself of the cultivated intellect of the whole of the Irish people, without distinction of creed" (*Complete Works* 2: 360). His message of Irish Catholic fealty to the temporal state reverberated in America. This was acutely evident in the case of the US Civil War.

Over Slavery, Breaking with the Liberator

Of "The Slave," the earlier-excerpted verse that Hughes published in his early twenties, Hassard writes: "Those acquainted with the political sentiments of the archbishop in the prime and evening of his life will hardly be

prepared for the piece which follows" (42). The biographer's remark greatly understates the case. Hughes's most personal and sustained encounter with slavery was as an overseer at a Maryland seminary. The experience repulsed the young emigrant, who had himself been born a colonized subject, hence, his 1820 antislavery poem. Yet his speech before Congress finds Hughes—by then a bishop—charting a middle path between abolitionists and their pro-slavery opponents. Kevin Kenny writes that by the time of his 1850 consecration as archbishop of New York, Hughes had become one of "the most outspoken defenders of slavery" (*American Irish* 119). The cleric then viewed abolitionism as "an abomination, a form of treason and violent extremism" (*American Irish* 119).

Multiple factors contributed to the turnabout. Hughes himself pointed to his relationship with Philadelphia's Rodrigue family, a kinship made especially close when Hughes's sister, Margaret, married William Rodrigue, a young architect frequently employed in the bishop's church-building program. Revolution had driven the Rodrigues off their slaveholding plantation in Haiti, and the patriarch's account of that violent ouster horrified Hughes (Shaw 334). Hughes traveled to slaveholding regions like Cuba and the US South and claimed to see nothing but benevolence on every plantation he visited.[72]

In distancing himself from the antislavery movement, moreover, Hughes both drew near to many Irish in his congregation and placed himself within the frame of Catholic doctrine.

The Maryland seminary's maintenance of slaves in fact had comported with that doctrine, given that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Church forbade slave trafficking but not slaveholding. "In other words there was no sin in slavery," writes Kenny, "so long as the master did not mistreat or sell his slaves" (*American Irish* 79). It is perhaps no coincidence that this line drawing corresponded to the US legal framework just before the Civil War: pursuant to a clause in the Constitution, Congress had outlawed slave trafficking in 1808, but slavery itself remained within the law. As late as October 1861, a writing by Hughes crossed even that line. In what his biographer characterizes as a satirical article that the archbishop "afterward regretted" (Hassard 435–36), the archbishop professes to see no "crime" in "snatching" persons overseas and then selling them in America as a means to protect "them from the butcheries prepared for them in their native land" (qtd in Hassard 436). Assuming that the buyers discharged their duty "to take care of these unfortunate people," Hughes continues, "it is very difficult to discover in the purchasers, any moral transgression of the law of God, or of the law of man where that traffic is authorized (qtd in Hassard 436). This justificatory stance was not inconsistent with the views of many Famine-era Irish immigrants, who regarded abolitionism as a British and Protestant phenomenon. Britain's emancipation of slaves in its Caribbean colonies had inspired US abolitionists; as a result, the US movement not only counted many Protestant clergymen among its leaders but also produced

rhetoric that Kenny describes as "shot through with the language of Protestant evangelical reform" (*American Irish* 85). These facts rendered the movement "highly suspicious to Irish immigrants" (*American Irish* 85), and that set the stage for profound disagreement with a hero of nationalism in Ireland, Daniel O'Connell.[73]

Hughes's admiration of the Irish politician known as the Liberator is evident in "The Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell," an 1856 lecture in which the archbishop praises O'Connell's Irish patriotism and Catholicism in almost equal measure (*Complete Works* 2: 132–43). Also apparent, however, is the point at which Hughes and his congregation parted company with the Liberator's liberationist ideas. For in this speech to New Yorkers, Hughes broaches "a certain question" that he says he raised on his first meeting with O'Connell, in London: "You are not surprised, Mr. O'Connell, that while you have many friends in America, you have some who are much displeased with certain of your public remarks" (2: 142). O'Connell is said to have asked which remarks irked these American "friends" (2: 142). Hughes replies:

> "[T]hey think you are too severe upon an institution for which the present generation or the present government of America is by no means responsible—I mean slavery." He paused, and said, "It would be strange indeed if I should not be the friend of the slave throughout the world—I, who was born a slave myself." He silenced me although he did not convince me. I afterwards heard him in the House of Commons, and there he was the great, grave senator. You would suppose he had been brought up from childhood an Englishman, he was so calm and unimpassioned.
>
> (2: 142)

This conclusion bears a sharp point. As if to ridicule O'Connell's claim that he himself was a slave, Hughes describes the Liberator as "great, grave senator" at home in the power center of Protestant England. In short, O'Connell was a person closer to sovereign power than bare life. This conjoinment of abolitionism with Protestant Englishness—and the positing of both as antithetical to Catholic Irishness—doubtless resonated with members of Hughes's audience. In their minds, no one from a foreign country (even the country of their birth) had the right to meddle in the affairs of their own (adopted) country. Slavery was an American institution. As an American, Hughes would defend that institution against attacks from foreign places, including Ireland. This identification with the intricacies of the US racial state helped to define Hughes's Americanness—just as, in Hughes's mind, identification with abolitionism defined O'Connell's foreignness. In this as in his relations with the Young Irelanders and others, Irish nationalist identity was trumped by Hughes's understanding of American patriotism.

In Time of Civil War, a Union Patriot

Soon after Confederate secessionists shelled Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, Archbishop John Hughes took a step without precedent in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America: he flew the Stars and Stripes from the façade of his diocesan headquarters, St. Patrick's Cathedral in Lower Manhattan[74] (Shaw 339–40). This act drew rebuke from a "Southern bishop" (Hassard 438). Hughes came quickly to his own defense, affirming both his "respect and affection for the people of the South" and his distaste for secession. "The flag on the cathedral was erected with my permission and approval," he continued, describing it as "an act of expediency" lest "the press would have sounded the report that the Catholics were disloyal, and no act of ours afterward could successfully vindicate us from the imputation" (qtd in Hassard 439). Such a report was to be avoided at all costs. So too any similar threat to the Catholic Church, which Hughes, by then sixty-three years old, had woven into the fabric of nineteenth-century America.

Hughes saw the outbreak of the Civil War as a deeply sad affair; he called it the "melancholy war" (*Complete Works* II: 541). He maintained good relations with bishops P. N. Lynch of New Orleans and John England of Charleston, both Irish born and both vocal supporters of the Confederacy. What is more, Hughes, with his pro-slavery view, had gained a following among Southern Protestants; indeed, he was chosen to deliver the 1860 commencement address at the University of North Carolina, a campus Shaw describes as "heavily Protestant" (338).

Despite his asserted melancholy, Hughes recognized in the Civil War an opportunity for Irish people in the North to prove their loyalty to the United States and, in so doing, quell the nativists' bile. For though Hughes did not take issue with slavery—he supported Southern states' claim to the right to decide, within the Union, to allow slavery—he condemned Southern slaveholders for proclaiming their own nation-state. In Hughes's mind, the South's secessionist break from the Union constituted treason.

Irish New York already had been preparing to defend the Union. After the attack on Fort Sumter, Irish militias combined to form the Sixty-Ninth Regiment. Its commander was Donegal-born Michael Corcoran, a Famine immigrant who had won the admiration of Irish American Catholics by refusing to parade before the Prince of Wales during the royal's 1860 visit to New York. General Corcoran's consequent court-martial was dropped once the war broke out; his Sixty-Ninth Regiment suffered heavy losses, returning home from the July 1861 Battle of Bull Run minus "20 percent of its 1,276 men" (Spann 197).

A few months later, Hughes himself left New York at the personal request of US President Abraham Lincoln.[75] Hughes and his friend, Thurlow Weed, were to try to counteract Confederate emissaries who were rumored to have sought help in European capitals. Hughes soon set sail across the Atlantic, not only with the London-bound Weed but also with his own entourage of a

secretary and amanuensis (Hassard 448–49). "The Government at Washington," Hughes wrote in a letter to the head of the Propaganda at Rome, "were pleased to think that, in requesting me to accept this mission, they were paying a great compliment to the whole Catholic people of the United States" (qtd in Hassard 451). He added that "they wished to give me also a mark of their confidence which might go far, as an example for future administrations to be well disposed towards Catholics" (qtd in Hassard 451). He concluded the US government wished "to condemn the spurious factions, who, but a few years ago, under the name of the Know-Nothings, attempted to treat the Catholics of America as disloyal citizens, unworthy of the equal privileges which the laws of the country extend to all its inhabitants" (qtd in Hassard 451).

As instructed by William Seward, by then Lincoln's secretary of state, Hughes called on the US ambassador to France as soon as he arrived in Paris. The ambassador received the archbishop with the lukewarm enthusiasm that any professional might muster for a perceived amateur diplomat. His request that the ambassador arrange for him to meet with French officials having been declined, Hughes used his Catholic connections to win an imperial audience. At the Tuileries palace, he persuaded the emperor and empress that the South might have designs on Cuba, an island where many French held property. Weed's efforts bore similar fruit so that the South won little material support and both France and England remained neutral. Hughes considered his efforts on behalf of the US state a resounding success. Lincoln concurred. Yet what was likely Hughes's greatest contribution was yet to come.

By the time that Hughes returned from Europe in mid-1862, New York's Irish Catholics had thrown themselves into America's war. He encouraged the effort in his first pastoral statement, delivered from the St. Patrick's pulpit and dubbed the "War Sermon" (Spann 200). Hughes preached that "the people themselves should insist upon being drafted," with an aim "to bring this unnatural strife to a close" (*Complete Works* 2: 373). But opposition to conscription would mount along with Irish American casualties.

Late in 1861, the Sixty-Ninth Regiment and two other New York units had joined forces to form a brigade under the command of Thomas Francis Meagher, the Fenian and former Young Irelander (Spann 198).[76] Alongside the Stars and Stripes, this Irish Brigade carried flags celebrating its ethnic heritage, while Father William Corby, the brigade chaplain, described the unit as a "body of about 4,000 Catholics marching—most of them—to death but also to the glory of their Church and country" (qtd in Spann 199).[77]

In short order, anticipation of glory gave way to the reality of war's gore. Fully 506 of the Irish Brigade's 3,000 members were killed or wounded at Antietam in 1862, and half the remaining men met death or injury a few months later at Fredericksburg (Spann 200–01). The casualty list stoked rumors that US commanders were using Irish regiments as cannon

fodder—and resentment spiked with Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. "Where the early war had invited patriotic efforts to defend the traditional Union," writes Edward K. Spann, "it now seemed to demand acceptance of a hated abolitionism" (203).

Hughes had prophesied trouble in a letter two years before. "There is being insinuated in this part of the country," he wrote, "an idea to the effect that the purpose of this war is the abolition of slavery in the south" (qtd in Shaw 344). Although Catholics "whether of native or foreign birth are willing to fight to the death for the support of the constitution, the Government, and the laws of the country" (qtd in Shaw 344), Hughes explained, Catholics did not see abolition as a component of those sacred governmental texts. He warned: "[I]f it should be understood that, with or without knowing, they are to fight for abolition of slavery, then, indeed, they will turn away in disgust from the discharge of what would otherwise be a patriotic duty" (qtd in Shaw 344).

Irish frustration boiled over in March 1863, when Lincoln signed into law a statute "An Act for enrolling and calling out the national Forces" (*1863 Enrollment Act*). The statute drafted men into the army yet exempted those who could pay $300 for a suitable substitute. This was the final straw for the poverty-stricken New York Irish. An attempt to enforce the act set off a July riot that lasted four bloody days. Mobs vented their anger on African Americans, beating, drowning, or lynching Black persons unfortunate enough to cross their path. Buildings set fire included the Colored Orphan's Asylum; fortunately, the children were rescued from the baying mob by one Paddy McCafferty, one of a number of Irish who opposed the violence (Spann 204). Riot victims included, moreover, several Irish American police and soldiers sent to quell the mayhem. Yet as Spann writes, "[M]any of the identifiable rioters were Irish" (Spann 204). The fact obscured Irish soldiers' heroism and prompted WASP commentators like George Templeton Strong (who would buy his way out of the draft)[78] to renew questions of Irish suitability for American citizenship (Spann 204).

Into this pandemonium stepped Hughes, who intervened in response to an appeal from New York's governor. Enfeebled by illness and unable to take the pulpit, Hughes spoke from the balcony of his residence. More than 5,000 persons listened intently, and at the end of Hughes's hour-long speech, the crowd obeyed his request to disperse peaceably (Shaw 368). The riots ended. "While it may be that the insurrection had very nearly spent its force," writes Rena Mazyck Andrews, "and that military coercion and the promise of the suspension of the draft were the most effective arguments, yet the rambling speech of the fast-aging prelate was not without its significance" (12). Andrews maintains that by his intervention, Hughes had moved to steady an Irish allegiance to the US state that was faltering. "Equally significant," she argues, "in view of the rabid intolerance bequeathed by the Pilgrim Fathers, was the Governor's recognition of a son of Rome as a positive factor in restoring law and order and loyalty to the government" (12). No less a figure

than President Lincoln recommended that the Vatican award Hughes with a cardinal's hat.

But a scant six months after, on January 3, 1864, Hughes succumbed to his illness. New York's Common Council closed its offices on the day of his funeral, and flags on public buildings flew at half-staff. Many businesses were shut. More than 100,000 persons stood in and around St. Patrick's Cathedral during the Mass. *The New York Herald* declared that such respect "has never been accorded to any other ecclesiastic since the Declaration of Independence" (qtd in Shaw 370). Lincoln himself wrote that since "the earliest days of our country's present troubles," Hughes's "counsel and advice were gladly sought and continually received by the Government" (qtd in Andrews 15). The president further praised Hughes for the diplomatic mission, performed "with all the loyalty, fidelity and practical wisdom which on so many other occasions illustrated his great ability for administration" (qtd in Andrews 15).

It is difficult to overestimate Hughes's significance to the Americanization process of the Irish in nineteenth-century America. From humble beginnings in Tyrone, he rose to prominence in his adopted country and, indeed, in the world. He was an avid scholar who spoke several languages. His pugnacious manner and formidable debating skills helped him sway many audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. Hughes put these talents to use on behalf of his Church and the United States. Ireland represented to him the bitter past. The turbulent present and hopeful future belonged to America, and he held himself responsible for ensuring that his fellow immigrants knew this. Hughes trained them as devout Catholics and patriotic Americans. To be a good American, Hughes realized, the Irish immigrant did not have to become a WASP; he or she just had to act like one. The following chapter recounts how Hughes and those he inspired set about their task in the cultural sphere.

Notes

1. Sources for the description of Hughes include Figure 2.1; Hassard 327; Shaw 249. The description of the chamber draws from an 1848 lithograph. (See Deroy, in the "Images Cited but not Reprinted" section of this book's Appendix.) Hughes's lengthy December 12, 1847, sermon, which spans thirteen dense book pages, is set out in full in *Complete Works* 1: 560–73. Accounts of the event appear in Brann (108), Hassard (316), Pinheiro (151–52), and Shaw (248–49).
2. The first was another native of Ireland, Cork-born John England, Bishop of Charleston, who spoke in the same chamber on Sunday, January 8, 1826 (Esposito, n.p.) According to Esposito, the speech "partly responded to anti-Catholic remarks made by John Quincy Adams in a Fourth of July oration nearly five years earlier" (*ibid.*). Adams's speech is discussed later in this chapter. A reprint of the Charleston bishop's 1826 speech to Congress begins on page 9 of England, Vol. 7.
3. Five years before, a Protestant critic had labeled Hughes "Dagger John," a moniker discussed later in this chapter. See Shaw (181–82).
4. Hughes closed his speech to Congress by praying "to God that he will preserve you . . . that you may be enlightened where light is necessary, and swayed in your

judgment in favor of those decisions which will at once promote the glory of our common Father, and the interests of this great and growing country, whose destinies may exercise hereafter so important an influence upon the nations of the earth" (*Complete Works* 1: 573).

5. Details on the Hughes-Polk collaboration during the Mexican-American War are provided later in this chapter.
6. The anti-Catholicism of one of Hughes' listeners that day, John Quincy Adams, is discussed a little later in this chapter.
7. That is not to say Church leaders did not at times attempt such a push. Debate over the separation of church and state culminated in the 1899 letter, *Tesem Benevolentiae*, in which Pope Leo XIII condemned the dangers of what he called "Americanism," essentially, church-state separation. The Catholic Church in Europe remained adamant in its claim to the right to play a leading role in state affairs. Such thinking led to the recognition in the 1937 constitution of the Irish Free State of the "special position" of the Catholic Church—a position the Church retained for most of the twentieth century. For an excellent history of the "special position" of the Roman Catholic Church in the Irish Constitution and the consequences of Church influence on the "Irish Divorce Referendum" of 1995, see James. With regard to ultramontanism and Archbishop Paul Cullen, the leading cleric in Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century, see later in this chapter.
8. For historical, socioeconomic, and statistical details on the Famine, see the introduction to this volume.
9. Hasia Diner in particular urges caution, noting that during the period in question New York's Irish community comprised several generations and contained many economic layers ("Most Irish" 94). German Catholics—generally wealthier and healthier than the Irish—settled predominantly in America's Midwest. Meanwhile, better-off Irish immigrants left the likes of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston for smaller towns in the Northeast. Following the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, a significant number of Irish ventured as far as California. See Ch. 5 and Ch. 6 in this volume. Relatively few Famine Irish moved to the American South; these latter are most notably chronicled by David Gleeson. In particular, see his *The Green and the Gray* (2013) and *The Irish in the South* (2001).
10. See Asbury (1927). See Anbinder for a more accurate portrayal of the Five Points neighborhood, which also figures in Ch. 6 of this volume.

    The etymology of the word "slum" is a mystery, according to most Anglo-American dictionaries. For a convincing argument for the Irish language origins of the word, see Cassidy.
11. This sketch of Hughes's life is drawn from three biographies of Hughes. *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.* (1866) is a 500-page panegyric by Hughes's aide, Father John Hassard. Similarly laudatory is *Most Reverend John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York* (1892) by Rev. Henry Athanasius Brann. The third volume, Richard Shaw's *Dagger John* (1977), is more critical of its subject than its predecessors.
12. As the introduction details, in the early nineteenth century, as much as half of Ireland's population may have spoken the Gaelic language.
13. The two men came from similar backgrounds—both were sons of poor Catholic, tenant farmers, both were from large families, and both were highly intelligent and articulate men of remarkable ambition. The similarity between them ended with adulthood: Hughes migrated to the United States and became a priest, whereas Carleton stayed in Ireland, converted to Protestantism, and became an impoverished writer. For more on Carleton (1796–1869), see Robert Lee Wolff.

For accounts of life in Clogher, see Carleton's *Autobiography* and *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*.

14. For details on Seton, see McCann; on the university named after her, see "Seton Hall"; see also Ch. 3 of this volume.
15. On these laws and the British colonial state in Ireland, see Ch. 2 of this volume.
16. The further evolution of Hughes's views is discussed later in this chapter.
17. Thanks are due to Randy Beck of the University of Georgia School of Law for suggesting I look at de Tocqueville's work.
18. Peter Guilday writes: "For two hundred and eighty-six years (1622–1908), Propaganda was the supreme court of administration and appeal, under the Holy Father, for the Church in this country" (482). He extols each missionary whom the Propaganda sent to the United States, both during and after its colonial period, as "a sharer in the strong stream of humanitarianism, of benevolence, of religious zeal . . ." (494).
19. On this doctrine, see the introduction to this volume.
20. For an account of the Atlantic crossing that brought Connolly, then based in Rome, to New York harbor on November 24, 1815, see Shelley 11. One historian wrote that in his ten years of service as the head of New York's diocese with these words, Connolly labored "faithfully, if not with success" (qtd Shelley 90).
21. Regarding the father, John Adams, see the introduction to this volume.
22. For more on Quincy Adams's anti-Catholic views, see H. Nolan (72).
23. See Ch. 1 of this volume.
24. In Europe in the early 1800s, the Catholic Church struggled to contain the aftershocks of the French Revolution and the ensuing Napoleonic era. Following the Napoleonic Wars waged between 1803 and 1814, in 1815 the Congress of Vienna restored power to the Papal States. Nevertheless, revolutions and rising nationalism, particularly in Italy, continued to occupy the Church hierarchy (J. O'Toole 44–48, 87–89).
25. On the lack of Vatican response, see Shaw (27). Among the vacancies left unfilled during this period, the Philadelphia diocese was left without a head for six years after the 1814 death of its first leader, Irish-born Bishop Michael Egan (H. Nolan 66).
26. A comprehensive account of the Philadelphia trustee crisis is to be found in H. Nolan, Ch. 3.
27. The dapper cleric, named William Hogan, would depart Philadelphia and become a Protestant minister, launching a career that grounded in militant anti-Catholic rhetoric (Shaw 27–31, 162–63, 297–98). His name surfaces continually throughout the career span of Hughes. The Irish-born priest-turned-American nativist rarely missed an opportunity to seek the limelight and make money while he was at it. As described by Shaw (100–01), Hogan even played a role in the Maria Monk story discussed in Ch. 3 of this volume.
28. The May 24, 1827, entry in Clay's papers quotes two Philadelphia papers, the *Gazette of the United States* and *Niles' Weekly Register*, for this account.
29. See also the introduction to this volume and Barkan, Chs. 2 and 3.
30. See Agamben, *Homo Sacer*.
31. In so doing, the book goes beyond prior American studies scholarship, which has tended to focus exclusively on Protestantism.
32. See, for example, Shelley, Ch. 2 and Ch. 3.
33. For more on this see Gough, *Paris and Rome*.
34. Larkin's essay, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–75," appeared in the *American Historical Review* in June 1972.
35. In his book *How the Pope Became Infallible*, August Bernhard Hasler traces this meta-dogma to European counterrevolutionary conservativism and monarchism.

For a helpful review of Hasler, see Roger O'Toole. For the definitive investigation into Ireland's devotional revolution see Larkin, *The Making of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland*, and also his essay "Before the Devotional Revolution." See also Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland 1770–1850*.

36. On this cultural production and the evolution of American Irish Catholics, see especially, Chs. 5, 6, 7, and 8 of this volume.
37. See also Janet Nolan, *Ourselves*.
38. On the demographic particulars and cultural aspects of this phenomenon, see Ch. 5 and Ch. 6 of this volume.
39. On the role of Irish nuns and, eventually, lay Irish women, in US education, see Ch. 7 of this volume.
40. As evidence of the success of Hughes and his successors, a 1902 study showed that approximately 90 percent of Irish-born New Yorkers "claimed membership in a specific parish" (Dolan, *Irish* 119).
41. Hughes laid the cornerstone for this building in 1858, but it would not be completed until after his death in 1864. His headquarters thus remained in the older St. Patrick's, in Lower Manhattan. See Farley's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*. See also Shaw (228, 329–32, 370) and Shelley (203–04).
42. The appointment of Hughes, an ardent defender of the faith but considered an outsider, or worse, a Philadelphian, likewise drew some complaint. Many New York clergymen had hoped for the appointment of a popular local—Vicar General John Power, like Hughes an Irishman. But Power was "mutinous foe of John Dubois" (Shaw 107), and the bishop would never have agreed to Power's promotion.
43. Likewise adding to Hughes's reputation was his response to the 1844 threat that anti-Catholic rioting in Philadelphia might spread to his diocese in New York. The bishop, who urged Catholics to avoid public demonstrations during the crisis, put armed guards around churches and insisted that city authorities take action to protect his people. "Whatever the reason for their decision," Shelley writes, "the Nativists canceled their demonstration at the last minute, averting the kind of violence that had just occurred in Philadelphia. John Hughes was not shy about publicly claiming the credit for averting a bloodbath" (127).
44. Weed eventually would become an influential member of the Republican Party and Seward, a US Senator, presidential candidate, and secretary of state for both Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson.
45. Noting that Hughes is often referred to "the father of the parochial school system," Shelley quotes another commentator: "'If this be true . . . then it is paradoxical that the father of American Catholic education should unwittingly have become a leading light in the ultimate secularization of American public school' " (125–26). In addition to primary and high schools, Hughes founded a number of important Catholic centers of higher education, including: Manhattan College; St. John's College, now Fordham University; and the Academy of Mount St. Vincent, now the College of Mount St. Vincent.
46. That invitation and the ensuing speech are discussed at the outset of this chapter. Hughes's effort to encourage Irish Catholics to avoid the public schools in favor of the parochial schools he was rapidly establishing is also discussed in Ch. 3 of this volume.
47. For a detailed account of the religious dimensions of the Mexican-American War, see Pinheiro.
48. K.R. Johnson (127); internal quotation omitted. Awarded to the US state were many former Mexican territories—parts of what is now Texas, as well as California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado. On tensions created within the United States because of this 1848 treaty's grant of US citizenship to Mexicans living in conquered territory—even to the extent of

classifying Mexicans "as 'white' for naturalization purposes"—see K.R. Johnson (127–29).

49. For the story of the San Patricio, see Stevens; see Paredes also. For the names of the members of the battalion, see Stevens (302–03).
50. On Poulantzas's theories, see the introduction to this volume.
51. Strict adherence to protocol would have required extending the invitation to Baltimore's archbishop, Samuel Eccleston (Shaw 216). Attending the Washington meetings alongside Hughes was Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, who in 1839 had founded a seminary that a century later would be renamed Loras College in his honor. See Loras College.
52. See Pinheiro (152). Also mentioning this episode is Brann (101–02).
53. "Middle class immigrants could not gain status in American society until they both mobilized the Irish-American masses, to demonstrate their political leverage, and imposed bourgeois norms on them, to reassure the host society's governing classes that the group was sufficiently civilized to warrant incorporation," Kerby Miller continues. "Moreover, only the prospect of such assimilation would enable the Irish bourgeoisie to provide 'successful models' for lower-class emulation, which in turn would enable them to exercise effective hegemony (*Ireland* 260). On the role of these bourgeois with respect to cultural production, see in particular, Ch. 3 and Ch. 4 of this volume.
54. For an excellent examination of this bank, founded in 1850, see Casey's "Refractive History."
55. For an account of the impact of the United Irishmen who settled in New York, see Walter J. Walsh. See also Gilje.
56. See Ch. 2 of this volume. For a useful account of the Young Ireland movement and the 1848 revolt, see McGovern.
57. Writing in December 1915, just a few months before the Easter Uprising, whose failure would lead to his execution, the Irish workers' leader, James Connolly called the Young Ireland Rebellion Ireland's "most sordid, squalid, meanest fiasco" (*Lost Writings* 185). He faulted the educated gentlemen for failing to engage the masses in their plan. I am not convinced that Connolly was right; it is fair to speculate that by 1848, successive years of famine had sapped the Irish. Connolly and his career are examined in detail in Ch. 7 of this volume.
58. In November of the same year, Hughes insisted that the Directory award his $500 donation to the Sisters of Charity instead of to Young Ireland (Hassard 309).
59. British authorities quickly captured most of the Young Ireland leaders and transported them to Van Diemen's Land, the remote Pacific island known today as Tasmania. On one of those conscripts, John Mitchel, see O'Neill, "Memory." In addition to the clash with McGee discussed in the text, Hughes had similar disputes with other Young Irelanders who came to New York—not only Mitchel but also Thomas Francis Meagher (Shaw 302–04). The last-named figure is discussed later in this chapter.
60. McGee was born in 1825 in Carlingford, Ireland, and immigrated to the United States, via Canada, in 1842 (Clarke 5–9). He returned three years later to take up an editorial post at the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal* (12–13). "[O]rdered to Glasgow" to garner support, McGee was in Scotland during the short-lived Young Ireland rebellion, then "hastened back to Ireland" (21–22). Finding himself a wanted man, he fled disguised as a priest, arriving in Philadelphia in 1848 (21–23). Eventually he moved to Canada, where he was elected a member of the House of Commons and was assassinated in 1868 (68–69).
61. In addition to this work and the monograph cited in the next footnote, see also Martin's essay "Nationalism as Blasphemy." On women's role in the Fenian movement, see Ch. 7 of this volume.

62. Days before, Alemany, who also features in Ch. 8 of this volume, had administered the last rites to the dying McManus.
63. Brian Jenkins describes the sermon as Hughes's "provocative 'address on the nature of lawful resistance to the state within the context of a Catholic doctrine,'" and reports that the sentiment was "reiterated in Dublin to a group of nationalists" (297). After Hughes's death in 1864, the hierarchy of the New York archdiocese would become even more unequivocally anti-Fenian. See "The Fenians," Letter to the Editor, *New York Times*, Aug. 24, 1865. For a Fenian account of the McManus incident, see Devoy, Ch. 3.
64. This biographical account is drawn from Bowen.
65. Cullen's papal benefactor, Pius IX, made the 1849 appointment in Gaeta, the city seventy-five miles south of Rome to which the pope had fled in the wake of a revolution led by the Italian politician Giuseppe Mazzini. The revolution would lead in 1870 to the downfall of the Papal States. See Duggan.
66. For an account of Cullen's central role in the Synod of Thurles, see Larkin, *The Making*, 27–58.
67. A foremost example was Archbishop John MacHale, the Catholic leader from Connaught, the region most acutely affected by the Famine. Unlike Cullen, MacHale opposed the proposal to enunciate a doctrine of papal infallibility. Yet once the Vatican Council declared the doctrine to be dogma, MacHale is supposed to have accepted the decision immediately. Thereafter, he preached the doctrine as an obedient servant of the Church (Gifford, *Joyce* 107–08). Joyce lampooned the Cullen-MacHale quarrel in "Grace" in the *Dubliners* short story collection.
68. As imposed by Cullen, Pope Pius IX's doctrines of the Virgin Mary and the Sacred Heart altered material culture: pictures and statues of the two competed with crucifixes for space on the walls of Irish Catholic homes. In the "Nausicaa" chapter of *Ulysses*, Joyce's hero Leopold Bloom links such iconographic collectibles with commercialism. "And pray for us. And pray for us. Good idea that repetition," Bloom comments. "Same thing with ads. Buy from us. And buy from us. Yes, there's a light in the priest's house" (377). See E. Nolan, *Catholic Emancipations* 160.
69. See Larkin, *The Making of the Roman Catholic Church*. For evidence of the persistence of the old Gaelic belief systems, see Bourke, *The Burning of Bridget Cleary*.
70. Bowen notes that Cullen quoted these very passages in an 1851 letter to Lord Aberdeen, also known as George Hamilton-Gordon. Identifying himself as the papacy's representative in Ireland, Cullen advised the peer—who would become prime minister the following year—that it would behoove the British state to consult with him. The passages quoted linked Catholicism to a disciplinary order sure to comfort that colonial state.
71. CUI, as the Catholic University of Ireland is sometimes known, represented Cullen's victory against a British effort to establish in Ireland non-denominational, third-level Queen's Colleges—Cullen insisted that such secular institutions would undermine the religion of the Catholics who attended them. See Larkin, *Consolidation*, Ch. IX. Cullen's campaign bears obvious similarities to Hughes's educational campaigns in the United States. With regard to the Dublin institution, Colin Barr notes: "In later years University College, the CUI's successor, had James Joyce as a student and Gerard Manley Hopkins as a professor" (219).
72. See Hassard (435).
73. For more on O'Connell, see also Ch. 1 of this volume.
74. Facing Mulberry Street at the corner of Mott and Prince streets, this early 1800s edifice is now known as the "Old Cathedral" to distinguish it from its successor,

the then-under-construction St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue in Midtown Manhattan.

75. Ch. 1 of this book opens with an account of this late 1861–early 1862 mission to Europe.
76. General Corcoran would form a separate unit, "Corcoran's Legion." It comprised more than 4,000 men, mainly Irish Catholics, drawn from throughout the Union. Unlike the Irish Brigade, this legion saw little action in its initial year. See Spann (200–01).
77. Spann notes that Corby later would become the president of the University of Notre Dame (199).
78. See Meier (quoting diary entry in which Strong, a New York lawyer, reported paying "'a big "Dutch" boy of about twenty' $1,100 to be his 'alter ego' in 1864").

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US Constitution.

3 The Writin' Irish; *or*, Catholic Irish America's Famine-Era Authors

Swindles, at home and abroad. Doomed lovers and deadbeat dads. The perilous lure of the new—new wealth, new values, in a new world—set against the nostalgic pull of old comforts in an old country. Deathbed conversions and condemnations to hell.

No less than in other times and places, these were the staple ingredients of literature in nineteenth-century America. They appeared in sentimentalist, Protestant fiction from the beginning of the 1800s and endured all the way through to industrial-era novels like Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900). These staples prevailed as well in an emergent literature of the period—fiction, and to a lesser extent nonfiction, produced by and for Irish Catholics in America. The genre grew in tandem with the Irish population, both the masses of readers and the ever-more-educated pool of potential authors. The particularized experiences of the Irish newcomers and, over time, their offspring, gave this literature a precise ideological purpose, conveniently summarized in Mary Anne Sadlier's *The Blakes and the Flanagans* (1855). The quote that follows is in reference to the role of the Catholic school system initiated by John Hughes: "Many and many a valued citizen did it bring up for the State" (15).[1] However, it is equally pertinent to the role performed by Sadlier's novels as well as those of her fellow Irish-born Catholic American authors of the era. Such literature helped to forge in their readers both a Catholic and American identity, encourage obedience to the hierarchical structures of both church and state, and promote a rigorous work ethic, thereby cultivating a firmer place within the state and its capitalist economy. In other words, they sought to unite in their Famine Irish readers American citizenship and American nationality, thereby producing the ideal Catholic American citizen.

Anti-Black racism does not play a significant role in this early Famine-era literature. Indeed, it is not until the publication of Sadlier's *Bessy Conway*[2] in 1861 that Irish racial superiority over the Black person is explored in any sustained fashion by the genre. Religion rather than race was the main concern of Famine generation writers. After all, they were catering to a traumatized people who had settled in an alien hostile environment characterized by US nativist attacks on their Catholicism as much as, if not more than,

their Irishness. Famine Irish generation writers thus concerned themselves with defending the "Faith of Our Fathers"[3] while simultaneously proving Irish suitability for US citizenship. Significantly, it was not until the American Civil War that African American racial difference became a significant subject for these writers.

John Hughes's Literary Lead

A singular inspiration for the writin' Irish[4]—for the authors of nineteenth-century Irish American Catholic literature—was the same prelate from whom American presidents sought advice.[5] Hughes made his way in America before, during, and after the Great Irish Famine. He arrived in 1817, toiled as a seminarian till his ordination in 1825, served as a priest in Philadelphia, and became a bishop in 1838. At the time of his death in 1864 he held the formal title of archbishop of New York, but as a practical matter, he was the unparalleled leader of the Roman Catholic Church in America. Dagger John, as he was called, wielded political power in traditional forums like city hall and the halls of Congress. He also wielded social power: Hughes recognized that doing battle in the culture wars would enable the Church both to deflect Protestant, nativist assaults and to instill in its surging, largely immigrant congregation American, Catholic values. Grasping the importance of the cultural battlefield, Hughes led the way with his own salvos of cultural production—sermons, speeches, articles, and even a novella—which met anti-Catholic attacks head on. Equally important, Hughes encouraged a host of Irish Catholic authors who followed his lead in waves that Charles Fanning labels the Famine and post-Famine generations.[6] Hughes's strategy would not come close to being matched until almost a century later, when Harlem Renaissance figure Charles S. Johnson set about organizing the "civil rights by copyright" movement in 1920s New York, among a more talented group of writers, artists, and poets with much more at stake.[7] The first group of Hughes-inspired authors included Father Hugh Quigley, Mary Anne Sadlier, and Dillon O'Brien.[8] All three were born in Ireland a couple decades after Hughes, and all would publish widely in the United States from 1850 onward.

These authors by no means represented America's first exposure to Ireland. Enjoying healthy US sales throughout the nineteenth century were foreign works as varied as *Castle Rackrent* (1800), Maria Edgeworth's fictional satire of Anglo-Irish landholdings,[9] and *Irish Melodies* (1825), Thomas Moore's collection of popular ballads[10] (Fanning *Irish* Voice 12–14). Nor were authors like Quigley, Sadlier, and O'Brien the first Irish authors in America. Following the failed 1798 United Irishman Rebellion, middle-class writers, Presbyterians and Catholics alike, had fled to the United States. Two such escapees, William James McNeven and Thomas Addis Emmet, published an apologia for the lost cause; following the fashion of prolix titles, McNeven and Emmet called their 1807 work *Pieces of Irish History,*

Illustrative of the Condition of Catholics of Ireland, or the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen; and of Their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government (1807). Another author, James Reynolds, wrote what Fanning calls "America's first communitarian tract": *Equality: A Political Romance* (1802) describes a fantasy island where everything is shared, and "marriage and money have disappeared, as have priests, soldiers, and lawyers" (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 9). Other literary contributions of this period include *Avenia: A Tragical Poem on the Oppression of the Human Species* (1805), a six-book abolitionist epic by Thomas Brannigan, as well as *The Shamrock, or Hibernian Chronicle*, a newspaper in which Thomas O'Connor published essays and poetry.

This early 1800s cultural production did not signify a deliberate effort to shape societal attitudes—to assert that, no less than Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Irish Catholics deserved pride of place in America. Such shaping is evident, however, in subsequent works, which followed Hughes's lead. From the start, these latter works deployed the tactics of anti-Catholic novels, putting them to pro-Catholic use. Pivotal were the writings of authors like Quigley, Sadlier, and O'Brien, all, like Hughes, ultramontane devotees of the devotional revolution.[11] These writers produced novels that demonstrated an Irish Catholic way of thriving in America; in so doing, they gave voice to Catholic critiques of American capitalism.

Inversion of the Anti-Catholic Captivity Novel

As the nineteenth century progressed, Catholic migration to America mounted. This was due in no small part, of course, to the flight of Famine Irish, most of whom were Catholic. Multiplying the effect of this Irish influx was a simultaneous increase in the number of German Catholics, whose migration to North America increased as the Napoleonic Wars came to an end in 1815. On account of these two immigrant groups, the American Catholic Church mushroomed—from 90,000 members in 1815 to 1.6 million in 1850 (Kenny, *American Irish* 75). The consequent shock of nativist, Protestant elites soon surfaced in a series of sensationalist novels.

On August 11, 1834, a nativist mob burned the Ursuline convent in the Massachusetts city of Charlestown.[12] One asserted cause of this violence was a series of anti-Catholic sermons delivered by Rev. Lyman Beecher, a Presbyterian who had returned to New England to raise funds for the seminary he led in Ohio (Schultz 165–66). Beecher's autobiography denies that his preaching was a cause of the arson yet repeats comments he himself made right afterward: "Will our great cities consent to receive protection from the Catholic priesthood, dependent on the Catholic powers of Europe, and favored by his Holiness, who is himself governed by the bayonets of Austria?" (L. Beecher *Autobiographies* 335).

Another asserted cause of the burning was a story then circulating of the brutal imprisonment of a teenager after she had renounced her Protestant

faith to enter the same Ursuline nunnery.[13] The story, *Six Months in a Convent, or, The Narrative of Rebecca Theresa Reed*,[14] finally saw print in 1835. It was an instant success when it appeared: "20,000 copies sold within a few weeks, 300,000 by 1860" (Griffin 29). Reed's salacious tale was proved completely false soon after its publication.[15] Yet it was joined the following year by another even more sensationalist work, *Awful Disclosures by Maria Monk, of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal*, which sold "10,000 copies in the first week, and an estimated 200,000 within a month" (Griffin 29). *Awful Disclosures* counted sexual slavery, rape, and infanticide among the practices of nuns and priests in the convent; it is the work that prompted Richard Hofstadter's oft-quoted claim, "Anti-Catholicism has always been the pornography of the Puritan" (21). Though quickly discredited, this work, found to have been written by Protestant males,[16] still managed to make a considerable sum of money. Along with *Six Months in a Convent*, *Awful Disclosures* launched a voluminous and long-popular series of anti-Catholic captivity novels.[17] Scholars have identified fascinating strands of meaning in such works.[18] But the overwhelming raison d'être for this Protestant pulp fiction was to strike at Roman Catholicism in American society.

Roman Catholics parried these literary attacks. The same year that Reed's imprisonment yarn appeared, a retort also was published: *Six Months in a House of Correction, or, the Narrative of Dorah Mahony*.[19] Details in this putative autobiography, by a Catholic woman with a distinctly Irish name, mirror those in *Six Months in a Convent*. Both books, for example, feature several pages of testimonials claiming the veracity of the text as well as a historical introduction. Both end with a passage with the subhead "LETTER TO IRISH CATHOLICS." *Six Months in a Convent* accuses the clergy of squandering money supposed to be used to teach reading to Catholic children (Reed 187–88). By way of reply, *Six Months in a House of Correction* belittles too much education as "a great botheration," and asks: "If people had not known how to read, do you think they would ever have burned down our Convent? (for which they will roast forever and ever and a day after.)" (Mahony 201).

In an inversion of the Protestant genre, *Six Months in a House of Correction* begins with the upbringing of heroine Dorah Mahony in Ireland in a Catholic family. Tragedy follows her wherever she goes. Her mother dies. Her father is transported by the British. Her fiancée has to flee the authorities after being implicated in the sacking of "a gentleman's house" (26). The couple decides to emigrate, but the fiancée falls overboard and drowns. Thus alone on arrival in America, Dorah eventually becomes engaged to an Irish Protestant, a member of Lyman Beecher's congregation. Following an alcohol-fueled fight at her engagement party, Dorah is arrested, framed, and given six months in jail; there she suffers much the same abuse as Rebecca Reed said she did in her convent tale.[20] Fanning sums up *Six Months in the House of Correction*: "Throughout, the full range of anti-Irish prejudices is presented for ridicule: ignorance, drunkenness, clannishness,

belligerence. . . . [T]he most zealous of Boston's nativist clergymen, Lyman Beecher and Jedediah Burchard, are characterized by name as ranting fanatics. . . . In the face of the trauma of the convent burning, *Six Months in a House of Correction* is an impressive response" (*Irish Voice* 26). Fanning, then, sees this book as a retaliatory coup on behalf of Boston's Irish Catholic community and perhaps the best-known rejoinder to the Protestant zealots' convent-captivity tracts.

Precedent for Catholic Retaliatory Literature

Despite its renown, the published account of a half-year in a Protestant prison was not the first of its kind. That title goes to a work of fiction subtitled *Guide to Truth and Peace*, which appeared in 1828, at least seven years before Dorah Mahony's name entered the fray. It too is distinctly Irish; indeed, it would provide the model for all subsequent Catholic, Irish American, retaliatory texts.

And in contrast with the true author of *Six Months in a House of Correction*, the combative creator of *Truth and Peace* did not hide in anonymity. He was none other than Father John Hughes, future archbishop of New York. Hughes's work was not widely circulated; nevertheless, its aggressive foray into the public sphere set an example that composes part of Hughes's profound influence on the Famine generation of Irish American Catholic writers.

Provoking Hughes to try his hand at fiction was an English Protestant tale making its way 'round the cobbled streets of Philadelphia in 1827. The hero of that tale, named Andrew Dunn, is said to be a young Irish boy who openly questions the tenets of his family's Catholic faith. For this he is horsewhipped by a sadistic priest. Yet Dunn continues to question the so-called papist religion, expertly tying various Catholic theologians in knots. Finally, he converts and becomes a good Protestant. At the time Hughes, a Philadelphia-based priest, was fighting a trend within the American Catholic Church that took some managerial authority away from the clergy and gave it to elected laymen, called trustees.[21] The further threat he perceived from the Protestant story of Andrew Dunn spurred Hughes to pen its mirror image, the pro-Catholic novella he titled *The Conversion and Edifying Death of Andrew Dunn: or, a Guide to Truth and Peace.*[22]

In Hughes's telling, Andrew Dunn is a young Protestant boy who grows up in rural Ireland. All is well until he reaches the age of thirty, when he begins doubting his religious faith. These doubts—five theological quandaries in all—are set forth in great detail. As in the original story, Hughes's Andrew Dunn queries theologians but gains little satisfaction from their answers. Dunn confides in a neighbor, John Smith, "a good liver" and a Catholic, who gives him the "real" history of the Catholic Church. Smith proceeds "to prove that the Pastors of the Catholic Church are the true Pastors and Ministers of Christ . . ." (Hughes, *Conversion* 54). Convinced,

Dunn tells the kindly Smith, "the proofs you produce in favor of the CATHOLIC CHURCH are very strong indeed, I can assure you I never expected to hear so much from you or from any other Catholic" (67; original emphasis). Dunn's Protestant friends, having learned of his visit to a Catholic Church, "attacked him with every kind of abusive language, calling him Idolator, Roman, and Papist. But he bore all their scoffs and abuse with meekness and patience; comforting himself with the thought that Jesus had been treated so before him . . ." (75).

Reflecting on this turgid prose, Richard Shaw quips that Hughes wrote his *Andrew Dunn* "apparently to prove that Catholics could write fiction in just as vulgar a tongue" as their Protestant counterparts (56-57). Even Hughes's former secretary and biographer, Father John Hassard, is compelled to concede: "Looked upon simply as a story, it certainly is not well told" (78).

Hughes himself was excited by his creation. The Philadelphia priest sent a copy to his friend and mentor, Father Simon Bruté, hoping that the Frenchman would find a market for his work. The letter to Bruté seeks to have the novella distributed with a minimum of fuss. "I do not wish the Protestants will take alarm," Hughes writes; "but managed properly it will leave in the hands of the clergy the means of diffusing the knowledge of religion in a way suited to the circumstances of the Catholics at large" (qtd in Hassard 82). A week later Bruté replied: "I have not been able to read Dunn's happy conversion, but I rejoice for it, and request that you send me a number of copies to the charge of five dollars" (83). Bruté had a difficult time off-loading the copies. Although Hughes became a gifted and prodigious writer, he never attempted fiction again.

Although a literary flop, *Andrew Dunn* marked a significant point in the life of Hughes and the course of the Catholic Church in America. It and its Protestant opposites deserve to be considered "as agents of cultural formation rather than as poorly written, sensationalistic narratives littered with stereotypical characters and formulaic plots" (Pasulka 174). Hassard remarks that Hughes's "skill in argument and familiarity with the best weapons of controversy were his already" (79). Hassard's 1866 biography goes on to identify correctly, if rather hyperbolically, the point of the text: "Such is 'Andrew Dunn'—slight enough compared with Mr. Hughes's other writings; but there are persons yet living who remember the effect produced by its appearance, especially among the poor people of the country districts, for whom it was principally written" (82). Hughes was the first in Catholic America to see the need to counter the myriad of Protestant conversion stories then circulating as well as the political and ideological power of popular culture as a vehicle for doing so.[23] Hughes's intended readers were the vulnerable rural Catholics, who farmed in isolation, far from any Catholic Church, in the middle of vast swaths of Protestantism. These Catholics required tools to bolster their Catholic faith and fend off Protestant proselytization. In his *Andrew Dunn*, Hughes established a literary template to be used in service of those goals.[24]

Converting the Conversion Novel

As its full title and contents evince, Hughes's *Andrew Dunn* was about conversion. That so many Irish Catholic writers would likewise write about conversion is a testament not only to Hughes's lead but also to ultramontane elites' fear that Protestant proselytizing would lure ordinary Catholics away from their Church. This proselytization relied in part on Protestant pulp fiction—and so Irish Catholic writers responded in the self-same cultural arena.

American sentimental and didactic fiction long had made Catholic-to-Protestant conversion a plot staple. An example occurs in *Wide, Wide World*, the highly successful 1850 novel by Susan Warner, a New Englander born of Puritan stock.[25] A "sick child," "a little ragged boy" by the name of John Dolan, an Irish Catholic, is said to have sought the deathbed comfort of a Presbyterian minister, Mr. Humphreys (277). Thus Humphreys sets out on a stormy winter's night to do God's work; he and others at the bedside witness from the boy "a profession of faith such as they had never heard before" (278). Johnny, Humphreys tells his own children, has died "a forgiven child of God" (278). The scene fits within what Pasulka analyzes as "the trope of child death, so ubiquitous in nineteenth-century literature" (173). According to this convention, "the dying child is coded as Protestant and white" (174); to be celebrated are these children's "conversion and triumphant death" (178).

But for Catholics, conversion to Protestantism afforded no cause for celebration. Rather, it was reason to retaliate. Following the format that Hughes established in *Andrew Dunn*, Famine generation writers frequently perform a literary conversion by which the American Protestant narrative is turned into a narrative of becoming a Catholic in America. Colleen McDannell sees this as "literature that turns the tables on the oppressor" ("Devil" 52). Catholic tracts embraced the deathbed scene, assuring their readers that "good" characters—those who remained Catholic or converted to that religion at the last minute—died happy and heaven bound. Those who did not—the "bad" characters—died miserable and bound for hell.

So it was that a scant three years after the publication of the Dolan-Humphreys deathbed depiction in *Wide World*, American readers encountered a scene that reversed Warner's religious logic. Again it is winter—in Vermont—and again a patient lies on her deathbed. She is "a sick woman named Finmore, who was in the last stage of consumption, and who had often, during her illness, expressed a desire that she should be attended by a priest before she would die" (Quigley, *Cross* 41). The author implies that she and her husband are unchurched, adding that although the husband "did not oppose her wish," he had not ventured out "in search of a personage of whom he stood in such awe, and knew so little of, as the Catholic priest" (41). The clergy thus must come to her in the personage of one "Father O'Shane—poor old gentleman!" (43). The journey is long and laborious, a snowstorm

requiring abandonment of a wagon and "a good deal of entreaty" to secure a sleigh (42). O'Shane "suffered terribly; had his ears frostbitten, and two of his fingers frozen" (43). These travails do not deter:

> But no matter; a soul was to be saved, and that consideration alleviated all his sufferings, and rendered him dead to everything—cold, pain, watchings, hunger, thirst, and weariness; nay, even death itself was but a trivial, inadequate price to be paid by a mortal man to gain an immortal soul to Christ and happiness.
>
> (43)

That is just what Father O'Shane does. Afterward he rests easy, "having been engaged in," as he puts it, "such a meritorious act of charity" (43). The priest has prepared a dying woman for eternal life and provided American readers with an Irish Catholic reading of the deathbed conversion scene.

It is a scenario that might well have occurred in the life of its author—Father Hugh Quigley, whose priesthood included service as a missionary.[26] Born in 1818 or 1819 near Tulla, County Clare, and educated at hedge schools, Quigley had found his priestly vocation sometime in the early 1830s. Ardent nationalism proved an initial impediment, however; Quigley refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown required of students at Ireland's Catholic seminary, Maynooth in County Meath. He went to Rome instead and was ordained following five years' study at the Irish College.[27] On return to Ireland during the Famine, Quigley became a vocal advocate for his starving parishioners—and even more bitter toward the British. As a consequence, he joined the Young Ireland movement.[28] Following its disastrous 1848 rebellion, Quigley departed for the United States, possibly to avoid arrest. On appointment by Archbishop John Hughes, Quigley served "a large parish in Troy," the upstate New York city where he would die and be buried in 1883.[29] Quigley also ministered to miners in California and the Chippewa in Wisconsin. For a time, he was rector of the Chicago diocese's University of St. Mary of the Lake. Despite all this travel, Quigley found time to write. The deathbed scene just described occurs in *The Cross and Shamrock; or, How to Defend the Faith: An Irish American Catholic Tale of True Life* (1853). The first of Quigley's three novels,[30] *Cross and Shamrock*, is significant not only because of its use of the conversion trope but because of other themes it explored as means to solidify the place of Irish Catholics in America. It was a project that Quigley—along with others, such as Mary Anne Sadlier and Dillon O'Brien—undertook as disciples to a mutual mentor, Archbishop Hughes.

A Catholic Ethic of Political Economy

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Max Weber invokes the writings of Benjamin Franklin to illustrate capitalism's ethos.[31] Drawing aphorisms like "time is money," "credit is money," and "money is of

the prolific, generating nature" from Franklin's *Necessary Hints to Those That Would be Rich* (1736) and *Advice to a Young Tradesman* (1748), Weber shows how a "philosophy of avarice" united moral beliefs with the belief in accumulation of profit (Weber *Protestant* 51). According to this Calvinist-inspired philosophy, accumulation is an end in itself; it is a person's duty to accumulate profit rather than spend it on frivolous commodities. Coupled with a firm belief in individualism, classic economic liberalism, and private striving, this ethos or spirit was, for Weber, an important (but not the only) factor in the development of capitalism.

As Weber's "Protestant Ethic" title would imply when published in 1905, American nativists regarded US capitalism as an exclusively Protestant affair. John Hughes endeavored to refute this view. In the fall of 1832, five years after Hughes published *Andrew Dunn*, the prominent nativist, Rev. John Breckinridge, a Presbyterian minister whose father had been attorney general in the Jefferson administration, challenged any member of the Catholic clergy to a debate, and Hughes seized the gauntlet. The debate started in 1833 in the form of newspaper articles in which Breckinridge attacked "the immorality and cruelties of the Roman Church" (Shaw 89), whereas Hughes dismissed all of Protestantism as illegitimate.

The debate stalled in 1834, the year that tall tales of escaped nuns, along with the Ursuline convent fire, captured the public's attention. But it resumed in 1835, and the following year the arguments of the two men appeared in book form. Although posing no market-share threat to the lascivious stories of Maria Monk, the book sold well enough to establish Hughes's national reputation as the leading defender of the faith among America's Catholics—and as the loathed papist in chief among Protestant nativists.

A key Hughes objective in battling with nativists like Breckinridge was to challenge the claim that the United States was a Protestant country. The Catholic Church, Hughes insisted, was as much part of the developing American national narrative as Protestantism. He outlines this argument in an 1852 lecture titled "The Catholic Chapter in the History of the United States."[32] Hughes begins by praising the framers of the Constitution's First Amendment, which states: "Congress shall make no law on the subject of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ." Rejecting claims of Protestant magnanimity, Hughes contends that the clause owes its existence to Catholic-founded colonial Maryland, where laws left Protestants and Catholics alike free to practice their respective religions.[33] Hughes further claims for Catholicism the so-called discovery of America, noting that explorers Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, John and Sebastian Cabot, and Giovanni da Verrazzano all were from Italy, which had remained Catholic following the European Reformation (*Catholic* 30). America owes its existence to Catholics no less than to devotees of Calvin or Luther, Hughes maintains; therefore, Catholics had every right to the same privileges of US citizenship that their Protestant neighbors enjoyed.

Hughes's intervention is especially interesting given the founding fallacy of Max Weber's thesis—that Protestantism is linked to the rise of US capitalism

because Puritan tenets allow for accumulation. Weber, following in the footsteps of Locke and Descartes, masks the fact that accumulation was enabled by the violence of primitive accumulation, slavery, and conquest. Hughes perceived that the needs of the racial state permit a revisionist historiography, one that trumpets a Catholic role in the invention of America. Thus he inserts Catholics into the hazy origin myths of the US state, choosing to ignore that anti-Catholicism contributes to those myths' deep roots. The move created a literary wedge that enabled Famine generation writers not only to contest the notion of America's strictly Puritan origins but also to construct a Catholic alternative to the Calvinist belief that the accumulation of wealth was a God-given duty.

Cross and Shamrock as Literary Wedge

Quigley's *Cross and Shamrock* promotes the dual aims of situating Catholics in the American story and showing Catholics how to live a less materialistic life. In one scene, Amanda, the young woman of the household, virtually commands her domestic servant—named Bridget, of course—to attend Protestant Church. "You Irish should learn to correspond with the institutions of the country, and should not attempt to introduce Popery into a Protestant land," Amanda exclaims (175). "Protestant land!" snorts Murty, the hired hand. No doubt referring to himself and his compatriot, Bridget, he says: "We never dream of this being a Protestant land when we land on its shores. We look on it as the land of liberty, where no form of religion is dominant, and where all are equally protected" (175). Murty further refutes Amanda's recitation of American nativist conventional wisdom: "Protestant land! Why this sounds odd in a world first trod on by Catholics. This sounds bad in a republic established by the aid of Catholic arms, blood and treasure, despite the tyranny of Protestant England" (175). He ends by casting blame:

> This slang of Protestant land is intolerable in a people against whose liberties no Catholic sword was ever unsheathed, though the founder of the sect of which your friend Mr. Barker is preacher, John Wesley, offered George III the services of his forty thousand Methodists to put down the American rebellion.
>
> (175)

In this passage, Murty becomes Quigley's conduit for ideas that Hughes championed and that every Catholic school history book subsequently adopted.[34] The reference to a "land of liberty, where no form of religion is dominant" rallies the US Constitution's First Amendment to the Catholic cause. The Catholic who "first trod" on American soil is an allusion not to Christopher Columbus but rather to St. Brendan the Navigator: styling

his name "St. Brandan," Quigley would claim in an 1878 history that this Irishman "discovered America in the Sixth Century" (*Irish Race* 91). It is a contention that remains popular in Ireland today.[35] Finally, the anti-American role of Wesley, the Protestant luminary who preferred his English king to New World revolutionaries, looms shameful in contrast with the laudable roles that Murty (exaggerating somewhat) says Catholic Spain and France played in early American history. Murty's retort thus establishes *Cross and Shamrock* as an Irish, Catholic, American novel. The title page affirms this:

AN IRISH-AMERICAN CATHOLIC TALE
OF REAL LIFE,
DESCRIPTIVE OF THE
TEMPTATIONS, SUFFERING, TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS
OF THE
CHILDREN OF ST. PATRICK
IN THE
GREAT REPUBLIC OF WASHINGTON.
(n.p.)

Acknowledging Hughes as a chief motivator for *Cross and Shamrock*, Quigley then echoes Hughes's lamentation of the corrupting influence of "cheap trash literature that is now ordinarily supplied for the amusement and instruction of the American people" (6). Too many Irish men "no sooner land on the shores of America than they endeavor to clip the musical and rich brogue of fatherland, to make room for the bastard barbarisms and vulgar slang of Yankeedom," Quigley writes, and in the "scramble for money and pleasures" in America, they lose their Catholic faith (8). It is a theme that other Hughes disciples also would plumb; chief among them was Mary Anne Sadlier.

Mrs. J. Sadlier

The Famine generation's most prolific author was born Mary Anne Madden in 1820 into a merchant family in Cootehill, County Cavan.[36] Her mother died when she was a child and her father when she was a very young woman. She immigrated to Montreal in 1844 and two years later married Tipperary-born James Sadlier, manager of the Canadian branch of D. & J. Sadlier, a Catholic publishing house. Founded by James and his brother Denis in New York City in 1837, in fewer than two decades the firm had become North America's largest Catholic publisher. James and Mary Anne moved from Montreal to New York 1860; by then, she had given birth to six children and had established a successful career as an essayist, novelist, and translator of French texts, many of a religious nature. Her husband died in 1869, leaving

Figure 3.1 "Mary Anne Sadlier." Undated photo.

Courtesy of Marguérite Corporaal and Christopher Cusack, Radboud University, The Netherlands. Also available at: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/SADLIER/Sadlier.htm. Accessed 12/18/14.

her to care for her children, all of whom were at home and the youngest of whom was scarcely eleven years old.[37] Sadlier herself would pass away decades later in Montreal on Palm Sunday 1903. Her epitaph marks the resting place of "MARY ANNE SADLIER / WHO BY HER PEN / RENDERED EMINENT

SERVICE / TO FAITH AND COUNTRY."[38] An undated photograph (Figure 3.1) reinforces this claim: Sadlier sits at her desk in thoughtful repose, pen at the ready. A black net contains her hair. The dark silk of her dress exudes wealth, its expanse modesty, its white-collar piety. She appears the epitome of a good, Christian, American woman.

Using the name "Mrs. J. Sadlier," she authored more than sixty volumes in a variety of modes. Out of eighteen novels of Irish interest, seven concern Irish American immigrant life; most notable among these are: *Willy Burke; or the Irish Orphan in America* (1850); *The Blakes and the Flanagans: A Tale Illustrative of Irish Life in America* (1855); *Bessy Conway; or, an Irish Girl in America* (1861); and *Confessions of an Apostate* (1864).[39] Many of these books went through multiple editions, and although reliable figures are not available, it is fair to say that Sadlier's work enjoyed considerable popularity.[40]

Most Famine generation authors wrote didactic novels—instruments of moral instruction aimed at Irish Catholic immigrants on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. As shown in the *Cross and Shamrock* title page set forth previously, the preliminary pages of such novels proclaimed their objectives. To similar effect, the preface to Sadlier's first novel, *Willy Burke*, opens as follows: "This little work was written for the express purpose of being useful to the young sons of my native land, in the arduous struggle with the tempter, whose nefarious design of bearing them from the faith of their fathers is so artfully concealed under every possible disguise" (iii). Claiming as fallacy the notion that a person had to be Protestant to succeed financially in America, Sadlier writes, "I have endeavored to show . . . that a man may be a good Catholic, a sincere Christian,—and yet obtain both wealth and honor even here below" (iii). By such admonitions, Sadlier challenged the Protestantism of the work ethic undergirding American capitalism, an ethic that Weber would name in 1905. Her clear goal was to establish a Catholic ethic within that self-same spirit of capitalism, that is, to reorder Franklinian materialist accumulation, placing "faith" before profit.[41] In this, Sadlier followed the lead of Hughes, foremost refuter of Protestant claims of exclusivity to what would later be called the American Dream.[42]

Arguments for confining the American Dream to Americans increased along with immigration in the nineteenth century. Two of the most influential works in this regard were *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* by Samuel F. B. Morse, the same man who invented the telegraph code, and *A Plea for the West* by Lyman Beecher, the nativist Presbyterian preacher whose part in the Ursuline convent fire was examined earlier in this chapter. These 1835 efforts to exclude Irish Catholics, among others, belonged to a body of literature that "cautiously encourag[ed] mainstream Americans that it was all right to strive to get ahead in the world," Robert Dunne writes, but that "offered no such encouragement to marginalized groups and in fact, used pious or outright Biblical fiat to state that it was God's will that they should not" succeed (9). Famine generation writers counterclaimed: in their view, it was God's will that the Irish Catholic man

or woman should, and would, get ahead in America—provided, that is, that he or she avoided the perils of Protestantism and stood firmly by Catholic values.

Catholic Schools and Catholic Values

Sadlier's second novel about Irish immigrants in America, *Blakes and Flanagans*, posits Catholic schooling as a central way of preserving Catholic values. The novel takes place about a quarter-century before its 1855 publication—in the 1830s and 1840s, when Hughes was doing battle on the New York "schools issue," a fight to retain Catholic teaching that eventually led to the establishment of the parochial school system.[43] The Flanagans, an Irish immigrant family of seven living in New York, are "good old fashioned Catholics" who send their children to St. Peter's school. "Tim Flanagan followed the trade of a leather-dresser, and had gained, by his persevering industry, a position of ease and comfort" (Sadlier, *Blakes* 10). Nelly is a pious "home-loving woman." They are portrayed far differently from the Blakes, who comprise Tim Flanagan's sister, Mary, her husband, Miles Blake, and their children—Eliza, a sickly child, and Harry, a "wild" one. The Blake children attend the Ward state school. Miles maintains that Catholic schools are a waste of time, not to mention the expense, and says his children get by with Sunday school. The Blakes "professed to be good Catholics" (11), but in truth money is more important to them than religion.

In their frequent arguments over "the schools issue," Tim Flanagan labels state schools Protestant; Miles contends they exist for all religions. Tim insists that "a school that's for *all* religions, as you say, is, in fact, for *no* religion, because no religion can be taught without giving offense to some parties concerned" (19; original emphasis). When Miles praises his son Harry for fighting classmates in defense of Catholicism and Ireland, Tim remarks that "it's all very well while he fights *for* his religion, but, just keep him at the same school for three or four years longer, and you'll see he'll be readier to fight *against* it" (18, original emphasis).

The novel's treatment of violence contains contradiction. In Tim's dismissal of Harry's violent defense of faith and Ireland may be heard Archbishop Hughes's opposition to violence by adult Irish nationalists, that is, violence over which the Church exercises no control.[44] Yet even as Sadlier presents incorrigible violence as peril, she approves violence to which Church institutions resort for the very purpose of control. Sadlier acknowledges the Catholic school's ideological and disciplinary role when she writes of St. Peter's: "Many and many a valued citizen did it bring up for the State" (15). In this, too, Sadlier echoes the hierarchical Hughes.

Embodying this endorsement of discipline is Mr. Lanigan, an Irish-born instructor at St. Peter's whom Sadlier describes as "a fine specimen of the good old Catholic teacher" (15). The boys "had a wholesome fear of Mr. Lanigan, who knew how to administer the birch, when necessary . . ." (72).

Like the pope, Lanigan's authority is absolute and infallible. "Now mark my words Tom Reilly!" he warns one of his charges. "[N]ever dare, while you are in this school, to give your own opinion contrary to mine, or insist that you are right when I have pronounced you wrong . . ." (78).

Sadlier's endorsement of officially sanctioned violence echoes another theory that Max Weber advanced: specifically, the theory that the essential element of the state is its monopoly of "legitimate" use of violence.[45] Lanigan's legitimate violence may hurt, but in testament to the Church's hegemonic power, it meets the approval of its chastised victims. Indeed, later in life the Flanagan boys recall the violence and humiliation wreaked by Lanigan with approval as it was a means by which they learned lessons "worth gold" (78). Lanigan's pupils, are in effect, conditioned for the state's own repressive apparatuses.[46] Little wonder that Catholic schools "bring up for the State" "[m]any and many a valued citizen," citizens inculcated to obey without question the voices of authority, be they spiritual or temporal.

This Catholic stance on corporal punishment stands in contrast with the Protestant approach.[47] Sadlier underscores the point first by introducing cause for correction: Harry has gone astray. The suitably named Father Power visits the Blake home to tell Miles the tragic news that his son has been seen frequenting the theater—according to Sadlier and other Famine generation writers, a vulgar activity that exposed Catholics to vice. Harry, the priest says, has tasted "those forbidden pleasures in which precocious Protestant children indulge" and adds that Harry would not have suffered this fate if he had been schooled at St. Peter's, a place of innocent and "boyish sport" (89). Father Power declares, "God grant you the grace to profit by my admonitions!" (89). In steps Mr. Thomson, a Protestant business associate of Miles Blake. Learning of Miles's plan to resort to corporal punishment, Mr. Thomson intercedes: "Well! now Miles . . . I ask it of you as a particular favor not to whip Harry. I hate manual correction—it is a barbarous practice" (92). Thomson extracts Miles's promise to ignore Father Power's plea and keep Harry at the state school. The die is thus cast. The Blakes are bound for perdition, aided by soft-headed Protestant ideas about proper discipline.

The novel flashes forward seven years. The now-rich Miles Blake is a St. Peter's trustee, member of a group Sadlier judges "wholly unfit for the office they held" (124–25). The trustees "began to think themselves quite equal if not superior to the priests" (125), she writes, reprising Hughes's epic and ultimately victorious struggle against this erstwhile effort at lay power.[48]

But Hughes's schools campaign remains the novel's key concern. Speaking of Hughes by title, *Blakes and Flanagans* lauds "the Bishop" as "the great champion of Catholicity" and, in presumed reference to Hughes's 1841 electoral genius,[49] as the "head of the Catholic party" (251, 252). In addition, Sadlier bestowed on Father Power traits often ascribed to Hughes. "Dr. Power was indeed a man 'of many gifts,' endowed with a strong piercing intellect; a giant in the area of controversy, a powerful and eloquent preacher . . ." (73). The Irish call him Father rather than "Doctor" Power, Sadlier explains, "a

thing very common with the Irish, who, with their characteristic and most filial attachment to their clergy, merge all honorary and scholastic titles in the patriarchal one of *Father*" (73, original emphasis). When Power dies, the novel's praise of his work on behalf of Catholic education presages Hughes's obituary.[50] "Long long [sic] may his memory live in the hearts of the Catholics of New York as the man who stood by them in troubled times," Sadlier eulogizes, "and soothed the sorrows of their struggling state with his mild eloquence and his gentle ministration" (377).

Toward the end, Harry—now an adult called by his full name, Henry T. Blake—is miserable and bitter. He rails against devotional items like relics, requiems, and holy water, and "his sympathies are all with confession-hating people" (386). Particularly critical of the papal claims to temporal power, he is "holding a confidential correspondence with Mazzini" (386–87), the Italian revolutionary who in 1849 forced Pope Pius IX to flee Vatican City. Henry seems beyond even the power of St. Jude, patron saint of hopeless cases; Sadlier reports that on account of Henry's religious betrayal, "his guardian angel covered his face and wept" (386).

The novel concludes by quoting Newark Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley, a prominent convert and Hughes protégé who drives home the crucial link between Catholic education and the future of the Catholic Church in America: "In our present position, the school-house has become second in importance only to the House of God itself."[51]

In her insightful study, "Discipline, Sentiment, and the Irish-American Public: Mary Ann Sadlier's Popular Fiction," Marjorie Howes takes issue with critics who view Sadlier's fiction as being devoid of anything but didactic value—"practical fiction for immigrants," as Fanning calls it. Howes urges readers to look beyond this writing's sociological value.[52] "Her works do not merely reflect transatlantic experience or culture," Howes writes of Sadlier; rather, "they seek to theorize it, to intervene in it, to constitute it" (142). Just as Hughes wrote his *Andrew Dunn* in reaction to 1820s Protestant didactic literature, Sadlier wrote in response to the sentimental, didactic, and extremely popular novels of her own contemporaries.[53] These included Susan Warner, whose novel *Wide, Wide World* was examined earlier in this chapter, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, daughter of the anti-Catholic preacher Lyman Beecher and author of many works including the famous abolitionist novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Sadlier shared many of the social concerns of Stowe and Warner.[54] For example, according to Lori Merish, the sentimental narratives of Stowe, Warner, and others "instantiate a particular form of liberal political subjection in which agency and subordination are intertwined" (3). Undoubtedly, Sadlier also intertwined the agency and subordination of her woman characters. However, Howes argues that Sadlier "offers a theory of Catholic political subjection" that differs from its Protestant counterparts in a number of crucial areas (158). Howes points in particular to *Blakes and Flanagans*; there in contrast with the Protestant writers' emphases on the autonomous individual and the nuclear family, Sadlier

stresses the community and the extended family. The novel thus advances "a theory of authority" (158), Howes writes, one that renders the subjection of children, to cite a notable example, "ultimately dependent upon external, even coercive forces—corporal punishment and church authority" (158). That theory of authority extends beyond children; "the privatization of authority is incomplete or partially refused" (158). This espousal of deference to outside authority reinforces a core aspect of the ultramontanist values shared by Hughes and other Famine generation writers.

Class, a Cut above Nation

In the Roman Catholic Church in late nineteenth-century America, John T. McGreevy observes, "[h]ierarchical authority within the church remained unquestioned, and a series of miniature hierarchies, including the pastor within the parish, the father within the family, and the employer within the firm, remained cornerstones of the Catholic vision. Private property remained sacrosanct . . ." (137). Reaffirming these tenets were Famine generation writers—Archbishop Hughes and disciples like Quigley and Sadlier. Yet another of these was Dillon O'Brien, author of *The Dalys of Dalystown* (1866), a novel containing the paean to America that introduces Chapter 2 of this volume.

Like Quigley and Sadlier, O'Brien was born in Ireland in the first part of the 1800s—in O'Brien's case, in Kilmore, County Roscommon, in 1817. The son of a wealthy landowner, O'Brien studied at County Kildare's Clongowes Wood College, the exclusive, Jesuit-run boarding school that James Joyce would attend decades later. After marrying Elizabeth Kelly, daughter of a Galway magistrate, O'Brien assumed the life of a prosperous country squire. But the Famine devastated the family fortune: "their generosity to Catholic tenants during those years rendered them landless by 1850" (Loeber 990). Shortly afterward O'Brien, his wife, and their children immigrated to the United States. The author of three novels in total, O'Brien wrote *The Dalys of Dalystown* while employed in an occupation that in itself confirmed Irish whiteness—he was the principal of an Indian school in LaPointe, Wisconsin.

Not unlike O'Brien's own life, *The Dalys* revolves around a landed Irish Catholic family and its patriarch—the kindhearted landlord, Godfrey Daly. The Daly family nemesis is O'Roarke, a lower-class middleman who holds mortgages to properties on the Irish estate and drives many honest tenants from their homes. Godfrey Daly forfeits the estate and dies heartbroken. His son, Henry Daly, leaves Ireland in search of the woman he loves—Rose O'Donnell, who had fled to America partly out of fear that her impoverished status would prevent Henry from regaining the family holdings.

The novel is redolent with admiration for the United States, beginning with the exultation quoted in Chapter 2. Worth noting is the passage's distinguishing of the Irish-born narrator from his children. His "heart . . . had struck its roots too deep" in Ireland "to allow of their taking hold" in

America, the narrator explains (8). The narrator contends that "it is different with my children": he urges on them "fidelity to Ireland," yet hopes they will be "good citizens of this country" (8).[55] As noted by Fanning, the narrator's ambivalence gives voice to the feelings of dislocation typical of the Famine generation (*Irish Voice* 89).

Dalys is far from ambivalent in its attitudes about class, however. To the contrary, its characters of the upper class win approbation for their manners and restraint, whereas those of lower classes incur calumny for their coarseness and violence. A graphic example occurs when militant agitators, the lower-class Ribbonmen, assassinate the lower-class middleman and Daly nemesis, O'Roarke. Although it has suffered at O'Roarke's hands, the Daly family decries the Ribbonmen's violent act in a passage that echoes the attitudes of Hughes and Sadlier with regard to violence not condoned by the Church.

At another point in the novel, the Dalys find common ground not with their Irish compatriots but rather with British authorities. The scene plays out at the Irish ancestral home. Arriving to evict the family is a complement of cleverly named individuals: lawyer Lyons, Sheriff Cuff, and British officer Cornet Fortescue, along with some bailiffs and soldiers. The evil-hearted Lyons cannot disguise his desire to perform the deed of ejectment with dispatch, even though the Daly patriarch, Godfrey, lies dying in an upstairs bedroom. Henry Daly threatens to tear Lyons "from limb to limb" (335). Then he is introduced to Fortescue, who like the sheriff and British soldiers, evinces little enthusiasm for the task he is duty bound to discharge. "I deem myself fortunate sir to have a gentleman to address," Henry declares, and asks only that the officer and "the fine fellows under your command" proceed as quietly as possible (335–36). "Mr. Daly," replies the impeccably mannered Fortescue, "I am but too happy to have even so slight an opportunity of showing how entirely I sympathize with you" (336). Similarly in evidence is the sympathy of the Dalys' friend, Sheriff Cuff. The value of fidelity to a single nation, Ireland, is displaced by that of fidelity to class, to a structure of social relations that cuts across religious and national boundaries. All gentlemen, the reader learns, behave everywhere as gentlemen.

Affirmation of a social hierarchy that fixes the upper class at its apex is the novel's final message. Henry has acquired a fortune and so has lived the American Dream. He chooses also to live out the Irish American Dream by returning to Ireland to buy back the old family home. *The Dalys* thus closes with Henry walking up the driveway to his stately estate. His obsequious retainers run to greet him:

> "Don't you remember me, Mr. Henry? Oh but you're welcome back asthore. Praise be to God, we see a Daly in Dalystown once more!"
>
> Henry's heart was touched to the very core. . . .
>
> "My friends: he said, "here on the threshold of my old home, standing in the presence of God, I promise you that I shall wall round my

> property with the smiling cottages of a tenantry whose interests and mine shall be as one."
>
> The promise, thus made, has been fulfilled.
>
> (518)

In point of fact, neither author O'Brien nor his children ever returned to live in Ireland. Eventually he became editor of the *Northwestern Chronicle*, a Catholic weekly based in St. Paul, Minnesota; there he died in 1882. For O'Brien as for many others, the realities of Irish American life diverged from Irish American fantasy.

Metaphorical Irish Home in the American Catholic Church

The theme of a return to Ireland is a constant in Famine-era Irish American Catholic fiction. It surfaces in different ways—in O'Brien's *Dalys of Dalystown*, as a reward for having thrived in America but, in Sadlier's *Confessions of an Apostate*, as an escape from a wayward American life. Although the theme may be seen as giving these writings an anti-assimilationist gloss, in fact it served a different role. At their core these novels were how-to guides on survival in America, and that is what likely mattered most to the average Famine immigrant. For such a reader, return to Ireland was not an option. Although often homesick for their birthplace, most Famine Irish had nothing to return to and could not afford the journey in any event. As Kenny notes:

> There was a grim finality about Irish transoceanic emigration, even at the end of the nineteenth century. While more than half of all Italians and East European immigrants in this era . . . return[ed] to their homelands after only a few years, at most 10 percent of Irish emigrants went back home.
>
> (141)

The percentage of Famine-era returnees to Ireland is unavailable, yet no doubt it was a considerably lower figure, given the dire straits of the Irish poor at mid-century.

In short, the Famine Irish resigned themselves to their new situation. Sadlier, Quigley, and their peers knew this; indeed, their works adapt to this reality. Their discussions of a hero's return to the old country tend to conflate Ireland and the Roman Catholic Church in much the same way that as early as the 1830s, American nativist writers had merged the Irish nationality with the Catholic religion. Irish Famine generation writers urged their immigrant readers to make a metaphorical return to Ireland—a return to old-country values and a turning away from their new country's immoral temptations. At the same time, writers such as Sadlier, whose *Bessy Conway* as we shall see in the following chapter, staked a claim for Irish membership in white

America by denigrating African Americans, thus solidifying the foundational structures of the US racial state. By holding on to conservative mores even as they helped build a dynamic state in formation, their readers could ensure that an Irish community would flourish in white supremacist America under the patriarchal protection of a decidedly American Catholic Church.

Notes

1. We will return to this quote a little later in this chapter.
2. The racism in *Bessy Conway* will be discussed in the following chapter.
3. This is the title of a famous 1849 Catholic hymn written by an English priest, Frederick William Faber. It quickly became very popular with Irish Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic. For more information as well as lyrics visit: http://www.hymnary.org/text/faith_of_our_fathers_living_still.
4. No doubt the reader will recognize this title as a pun on "Fighting Irish," a nickname long associated with the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana. Many theories have been advanced for the origins of that moniker, but all have roots in the American experiences of Irish who emigrated in the wake of the Famine. See C. Carey, Univ. Notre Dame, and Smithsonian Channel.
5. Details of Hughes's biography, including his consultation with President James K. Polk, are in Ch. 2 of this book; his diplomatic mission on behalf of President Abraham Lincoln is in Ch. 1.
6. See Fanning, *Irish Voice*.
7. For more on Johnson and the "civil rights by copyright" movement, see Lewis.
8. For cultural production by authors who came after this Famine-era group, see Ch. 4.
9. Also popular among American readers were novels like *Wild Irish Girl* (1807), by Anglo-Irishwoman Sydney Owenson, known as Lady Morgan, which was published in New York and Philadelphia in five separate editions; John Banim's *Tales of the O'Hara Family* (1825), published in Philadelphia in 1827 and again in 1838; Gerald Griffin's *The Collegians* (1829); and William Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830), published in the United States in 1833.
10. First published by Matthew Carey in Philadelphia in 1825, *Irish Melodies* went through thirty US printings by 1900 (Fanning, *Irish Voice* 12–14).
11. On ultramontanism and the devotional revolution, see Ch. 2.
12. It is now a neighborhood within the city of Boston.
13. See Reed (3–4).
14. The full title of this nearly 200-page work is *Six Months in a Convent, or, The Narrative of Rebecca Theresa Reed, Who Was under the Influence of the Roman Catholics about Two Years, and an Inmate of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict, Charlestown, Mass., Nearly Six Months, in the Years 1831–2 (1835)*. This work, attributed to "Rebecca Theresa Reed," along with another discussed in this chapter, attributed to "Dorah Mahony," is listed in catalogs with the named subjects as authors. However, neither Reed nor Monk were the authors.
15. For a thorough examination of the backstory, as well as analysis of the content, of the works attributed to Rebecca Reed and Maria Monk, see Franchot, Ch. 7.
16. The narrative initially attributed to "Maria Monk" was found to be have been written under the supervision of Protestant men, among them Theodore Dwight and ministers J. J. Slocum and Arthur Tappan. Indeed, following legal proceedings, "it was revealed that Slocum wrote most of the narrative" (Oxx 45). Slocum's name appears in the 1837 "second edition, revised," of *Awful Disclosures*, and so he is listed as the author in this volume's bibliography.

17. Susan Griffin lists a few of the many captivity stories published in nineteenth-century United States (1). The list is worth perusing for the titles alone: *Rosalind; or A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of an American Female under Popish Priests in the Island of Cuba* (1836); *Father Eustace: A Tale of the Jesuits* (1847) by Frances Trollope; *Six Hours in a Convent; or The Stolen Nuns!* (1854) by Charles Frotheringham; *The Jesuit's Daughter: A Novel For Americans to Read* (1854) by Ned Buntline; *The Archbishop: or Romanism in the United States* (1855) by Orvilla Belisle; *Westward Ho!* (1855) by Charles Kingsley; and *Overdale; or The Story of a Pervert: A Tale of the Times* (1869) by Emma Jane Worboise. See Fenton, Ch. 3, for the most recent survey of this genre.
18. For example, Jenny Franchot traces elements of these pulp-fiction anti-Catholic captivity tales to the more upscale writing of Edgar Allan Poe and Herman Melville. Susan Griffin argues, meanwhile: "At the historical moment when American women were shaping Protestantism in their own image, these publications called the testimony of the religious women into doubt" (30).
19. The full title of this 201-page work is *Six Months in a House of Correction, or, the Narrative of Dorah Mahony, Who Was under the Influence of the Protestants about a Year, and an Inmate of the House of Correction, in Leverett St., Boston, Massachusetts, Nearly Six Months, in the Years 18—.*
20. See Fanning, *Irish Voice* (22–26).
21. See Ch. 2.
22. Depending on the edition, Hughes's work consumes anywhere from three dozen to five dozen book pages.
23. I appreciate the scholarship of Eileen Sullivan's recent work on the American Irish Catholic novel, *The Shamrock and the Cross.* However, she makes no mention of Hughes's novella in her work. Instead, she argues that Charles Constantine Pise's *Father Rowland: A North American Tale*, published a year after *Andrew Dunn*, represents the first American Catholic novel (7–8). I respectfully disagree. Pise's work may well have had a wider readership than Hughes's literary efforts, but I would argue that given Hughes's close relationship with Sadlier, Quigley, and other Irish American Catholic writers, *Andrew Dunn* was not only the first American Catholic novel/novella, but the most influential for this particular group of novelists.
24. In making this claim, I am in complete agreement with O'Sullivan's central thesis, "that Irish American writers were part of a tradition of American Catholic—rather than American Irish—popular literature" (2).
25. John Carlos Rowe notes the transnational significance in the Dolan deathbed scene in "Religious Transnationalism" (45).
26. Indeed, the title page of his first novel declares that the work was "WRITTEN BY A MISSIONARY PRIEST" (Hughes *Cross* n.p., original emphasis). The biographical account of Quigley in this paragraph is derived from Fanning, *Irish Voice* 141, and from "Death of the Rev. Dr. Quigley." The former source cites his birth year as 1819 and the latter 1818.
27. A young man from a poor background ought not to have been able to afford such an undertaking without the support of a wealthy patron, yet I have found no evidence that Quigley enjoyed any such benefactor.
28. On the quashed Young Ireland rising, see also Ch. 2 and Ch. 7 of this volume.
29. See "Death of the Rev. Dr. Quigley." Decades later, Troy would be a temporary home for another emigrant from Ireland, James Connolly. See Ch. 7.
30. The other two were: *The Prophet of the Ruined Abbey; or, A Glance of the Future of Ireland: A Narrative Founded on the Ancient 'Prophecies of Culmkill,' and on Other Predictions and Popular Traditions Among the Irish* (1855) and *Profit and Loss: A Story of the Life of a Genteel Irish American, Illustrative of Godless Education* (1873).

31. Weber's writings also are addressed in the introduction to the volume.
32. Delivered on March 8, 1852, at the Catholic Institute in New York, the lecture subsequently was distributed nationwide in booklet form by publisher Edward Dunigan and Brother.
33. Founded by the Roman Catholic convert Lord Baltimore in 1634, Maryland, according to Hughes, earned the highest praise from what he considered an unimpeachable source: the famous WASP historian, George Bancroft, who had described it as the only home of religious liberty in the world (Hughes *Catholic* 22–24).
34. See, for example, Sadlier's *Elementary History of the United States*.
35. See Severin; see also Ó Donnchadha. Quigley's *Irish Race in America*, a rather unusual historical treatise, also is discussed in the introduction and Ch. 6 of this volume.
36. Remarkably, there is as yet no published biography of Mary Anne Sadlier. Most of the biographical material presented here is based on the sterling work of Charles Fanning in *Irish Voice* (114–15). Scholarship differs on the spelling of her middle name; however, it is spelled with an "e" on her tombstone. See photo at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=76632059&PIpi=49677752.
37. See gravestone photo at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=76632059&PIpi=49677752, listing James's death on September 21, 1869, at age 48; see also 1870 US Census Records locating Sadlier, her six children, and three others living in 1870 at the same address in New York City, *available at* ancestry.com. Accessed 07/25/14.
38. See gravestone photo at http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=pv&GRid=76632059&PIpi=49677752.
39. The other three are: *Old and New; or, Taste Versus Fashion* (1862); and *Con O'Regan; or Emigrant Life in the New World* (1864); and *Aunt Honor's Keepsake: A Chapter from Life* (1866). This chapter discusses *Willy Burke*, *Blakes and Flanagans*, and *Confessions of an Apostate*, whereas *Bessy Conway* and *Old and New* are treated in Ch. 4.
40. Publishers included D. & J. Sadlier and others, among them a German-language publisher of *The Blakes and the Flanagans*; moreover, later in the century New York publisher P. J. Kenedy reissued all the titles cited in the text. Fanning quotes Willard Thorp as having said that Sadlier's "early novels were evidently read to pieces" (*Irish Voice* 114).
41. For more on the Catholic counter-narrative concerning materialism, see Gjerde (80–82).
42. I use the term in the full knowledge that it was not coined by James Truslow Adams until 1931. The sentiments of the "American Dream," however, have been expressed incessantly since the inception of the United States.
43. See Ch. 2 of this volume.
44. See the discussion in Ch. 2 of Hughes and militant Irish nationalist groups like the Young Irelanders.
45. See the introduction.
46. On Althusser's use of this term, see the introduction.
47. Although not always part of Protestantism, the aversion was in place by the mid-1800s, the period in which *Blakes and Flanagans* was written. Pasulka provides a fascinating analysis of the process by which American Protestants gradually turned away from the use of corporal punishment as a means to achieve the goal of "breaking a child's will" (176).
48. See Ch. 2.
49. See Ch. 2.
50. On the circumstances of Archbishop Hughes's death and funeral in 1863, eight years after the publication of *Blakes and Flanagans*, see Ch. 2.

51. Sadlier, *Blakes and Flanagans* (391, quoting from Bayley's 1853 booklet, *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*). Described in *Blakes and Flanagans* simply as "Right Rev. Dr. Bayley" (*ibid.*), James Roosevelt Bayley had become the first Bishop of Newark, New Jersey, in 1853, and would serve there until 1872. He was named Archbishop of Baltimore, Maryland, a position he held until his death in 1877. Born into a Protestant family whose distant relatives would include Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Bayley was ordained an Episcopal priest before converting to Catholicism in Rome in 1842. He was the half-nephew of another famous convert, Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, founder of an order of nuns and, as described in Ch. 2, mentor to young John Hughes. See Seton Hall University, "Shepherds of the Seminary."
52. Howes is not alone in challenging these conventional views of Sadlier's work. Liz Szabo argues that "Sadlier's novels, while politically conservative, are in fact anything but uncomplicated or naïve; far from positing what some have called the uncomplicated 'happy ending' of sentimental fiction, Sadlier harshly critiques many of the aspects of American society of which its citizens are most proud, and casts a shadow on the promise of immigration and assimilation for Irish immigrants" (para. 2). Although I see Szabo's point, I think it is important to remember that Sadlier herself more than fulfilled the promise of immigration and assimilation. She raised six children while leading a comfortable and financially successful life, both in the United States and Canada. Nor did she herself ever return to live in Ireland.
53. Sadlier was encouraged in this endeavor by the circle of Catholic intellectuals of which Hughes was a leader. Indeed, the men of the circle helped to launch her career. Orestes Brownson, in a July 1849 article in his *Quarterly Review*, called for the creation of a Catholic popular literature. Patrick Donahoe, publisher of the Boston Catholic paper the *Pilot*, offered a prize of $50, plus serialization in his paper, for such a novel. Brownson judged the contest and declared Sadlier the winner for her first novel, *Willie Burke* (Howes, "Discipline" 146–47).
54. Curiously, Protestant matrons in the late nineteenth century would rely on some of these same works while endeavoring to acculturate their Irish women servants. See Ch. 5.
55. At least two of O'Brien's own sons became lawyers. One, Thomas Dillon O'Brien, born in 1859 in LaPointe, served a time as a country prosecutor and as Minnesota's insurance commissioner and was dean of the St. Thomas College of Law and author of a book on individual rights in the US Constitution; he went on to become a justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court. See "Proceedings In Memory." Thus did the son follow the intergenerational path toward Irish integration into the American state apparatus.

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4 A Code for the True American Catholic Man or Woman

"A Girl's Predicament" no doubt drew in readers of San Francisco's *Daily Alta California*.[1] That 1890 headline introduced this news:

> Ella Hare, a young Irish girl, who arrived here from Ireland yesterday morning, is in a sad predicament. Her brother had arranged to meet her immediately on her arrival in this city, but he did not materialize. Being without funds the girl applied to Sergeant Lungford for assistance and he escorted her to the New Western Hotel, where she is now residing and will continue to remain until her brother puts in an appearance.

Ella Hare had traveled alone across an ocean to place herself, on arrival in America, at the mercy of someone from back in the "auld country." In this she was like many an Irish woman emigrants of her day, yet unlike women from other immigrant groups. Typically, she was young and single[2]—and she came in droves. "Between 1885 and 1920," writes Janet Nolan, "females outnumbered males among the 1.4 million people leaving Ireland by almost twenty thousand" (*Ourselves* 49).[3] What is more, women accounted for over half the total number of Irish immigrants to America in the late nineteenth century, compared with only 20 percent of all Germans and Italians in the same period (Walter 35). Very few of the latter undertook the difficult journey alone.[4] For many Irish women, however, there was no other option but to sail to a new and uncertain life.

Comparatively few Irish women had emigrated before the Great Famine.[5] Women's labor—working in dairies and cottage industries and caring for pigs and poultry—was essential to farm families' wherewithal (K. Miller et al. 41). But mechanization, coupled with new inheritance practices that deprived all but the first-born male and female of inheritance or dowry, left many young Irish men and women without an economic future. As Hasia Diner details, marriage rates dropped dramatically, the age when people married increased, and the number of people who did not marry at all surged (*Erin's* 8–9). Both Diner and Nolan maintain that marriage became an economic arrangement: as the dowry's importance soared, matchmakers were hired to find suitable partners, and romance faded in significance (Diner, *Erin*'s, 11; Nolan, *Ourselves* 35).

The surplus of unprovided-for daughters spurred emigration by single young women. The numbers swelled with the onslaught of the Famine. By the end of the century, the number of family members migrating became so great that those who stayed to look after the farms became the unfortunate ones. Stuck in depressing Ireland, they read in siblings' letters of the excitement and glamor of faraway, modern places (Diner 12). Emigrants not only sent letters and parcels, but also remittances, home to family members in Ireland. From the cities across the world in which they had settled, they also paid fares for family members—say, a sister like Ella Hare—to join them (13).

Ella's story differed only in that most Irish women at the time did not go straight to San Francisco but rather stayed a while at their original point of entry, North America's East Coast. Only members of the Irish middle or upper class, plus a smattering of Irish sailors, could afford full passage to California. An Irish person also might opt for the direct route if a relative already established in California paid for the journey. That is the most likely—yet by no means certain—scenario in Ella's case.

The news item prompts many questions. Did Ella's "brother" ever show up? Did he, or perhaps some other Irishman, treat her well or ill? Did she retain her Irishness, her faith? Or was Ella left alone, abandoned, destitute? Was it left to her to find work, perhaps as a domestic servant, or a washerwoman in one of San Francisco's ubiquitous laundries? Did she enter a more tragic occupation?

Later editions of the *Daily Alta California* did not reveal what fate befell Ella Hare. Popular literature, however, offered many possible endings to Ella's story.[6] Novels of the Famine era, penned by authors who themselves had emigrated from Ireland, warned immigrant readers not to stray too far from Irish roots, even as they took part in the inevitably ecumenical American marketplace. The literature published after these writings built on their admonitions. Yet the emphasis shifted as the Famine immigrant writers gave way to what Charles Fanning describes as "second-generation" Irish American authors (*Irish Voice* 206). As with most line drawing, the distinction between first- and second-generation writers is not perfect; indeed, numerous authors discussed in this chapter were Irish immigrants rather than US-born Irish. The distinction does serve, however, to signal a turn away from the earlier works' exultation of Ireland and Irishness.

By the later 1800s, the US Catholic Church had accumulated enough resources to turn its attention to issues besides ministering to immigrant masses. The Church's meteoric growth had spawned a still-expanding network of educational establishments—institutions like Georgetown College in Washington, D.C., St. John's College in Fordham, New York, and the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, each of which produced cadres of lay and clerical intellectuals. These members of the middle class endeavored to reform other Irish Catholics in America and, in so doing, to assume a national identity that was associated less with Irish-born bishops and more with the values of the US state.

Fiction and nonfiction written in the later 1800s increasingly criticized ethnic traits deemed negative, even as the authors stressed the Catholic religious tradition as an essential component of Irish life in America. This emphasis posed a challenge, not only because of Protestant influences that emigrants encountered in America but also because changes in Ireland's Catholicism had contributed to some emigrants' decision to leave for America in the first place. After the Famine, the Irish Catholic Church grew more powerful so that by the 1880s, attendance at Mass exceeded 90 percent. Priests imposed on parishioners a moral code that reinforced the subordination of women (Nolan 36). Irish Catholic society became ever more segregated by sex. "[W]omen actively chose to abandon diminishing lives at home and to embrace adventure abroad while seeking jobs, husbands, and an independent adult status," Nolan writes (73). Irish American writings of this period insisted that Catholicism, rather than Irishness, was the immigrants' most important asset—to be precise, a Catholicism that admired and adapted the refinements of US elite culture to promote the ideal type of the Irish American. Religion, more than ethnicity, became the elites' preferred medium for policing behavior. Still, assumptions about race and ethnicity, as well as gender and sex, infused these works: whiteness was presumed, and readers were encouraged to live their lives according to prescribed gender roles. The future of the Irish in America required Irish immigrants and their children to become what one writer famously called "true" women and men.[7]

The organizing unit around which the American Catholic Church would produce "true" women and men was the family. On this point, it is worth repeating the words of John Hughes first quoted in Chapter 2 of this volume. "The first form of society . . . was domestic," Hughes maintains. Indeed, "families existed, before nations were formed," and that even in his era, "the head of the family was the protector of his household" (*Complete Works* 1: 374). In another sermon, he states: "A family is itself a State: it is a corporation in which there is form and dominion, and order . . ." (1: 355). The following examples of Irish American Catholic literature, both fictional and nonfictional, take Hughes' pronouncements on the family as gospel. The patriarchal family structure that this literature promotes not only reflects Catholic Church patriarchy but aligns the family with capitalist state structures, thus confirming Louis Althusser's assertion of the family as a key ideological state apparatus.[8]

Irish American Men Write for Irish Women

In his examination of dozens of books that were written between 1830 and 1860 and that feature servants, Stephen Garrett Bolger finds an Irish character that while fleeting, is fairly consistent. It is most often a woman. Most often, she is called "Bridget" or "Biddy." She has a thick brogue and a dual nature: "noisy, careless, and untidy on the one hand, and good-hearted, faithful, and shrewd on the other" (54). The character in these novels thus differs little from contemporaneous cartoons and stage portrayals of Irish

women domestic servants.[9] But as the nineteenth century progressed—as Irish Catholic elites persisted in claiming a high stratum in America's sociocultural structure—Irish Catholic writers not only disfavored this character but also presented an alternative.

This newer literature was not written about, but rather for, Irish Catholic servants in the United States. And it was written not by the servants themselves but rather by middle-class, Irish American Catholic writers. Frequently this was made explicit: the title page informs that Father Hugh Quigley's *Cross and Shamrock* is

> A BOOK FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTION OF THE CATHOLIC MALE AND FEMALE SERVANTS OF THE UNITED STATES.
>
> (n.p.)

The message in that 1853 novel is gender inclusive, and some of the works did contemplate a male readership; indeed, literary efforts to discipline Irish men will be examined later in this chapter. Yet many, perhaps most, of the works in this period aimed especially at the Irish Catholic woman in domestic service. Often, she was quite young. According to Faye Dudden, more than half of all Irish-born female servants in Buffalo in 1855 started before the age of seventeen; some started as young as eleven or twelve (234). The authors hoped that their writings would save such young Irish women from what they saw as the moral corruption of American Protestantism. Most of the authors were men, men at times encouraged to write by other males, that is, the men who ran the enterprises that issued these works. Take, for example, a novel treated more fully later in this chapter, *The Lost Rosary; or Our Irish Girls, Their Trials, Temptations, and Triumphs* (1870). According to the preface, it was "Patrick Donahoe Esq., the eminent Irish and Catholic publisher" who suggested the work (v). The novel endeavors to confine, within a narrow set of mores, the behavior of Irish women—"girls," as the author, Peter McCorry,[10] calls them. McCorry thus dedicates the novel "[t]o the ever faithful Irish girls in America, whose affectionate devotion to their kith and kin in the old land, has proved that virtue and charity, the results of pious and careful training in youth, are unlessened by distance and end only with life itself . . ." (n.p.). The dedication sees emigration as, at best, a mixed blessing: "True it has given to many the means of a better material existence, sometimes, it must be acknowledged, at a fearful cost, namely—the loss of faith" (n.p.). Allowing that "[t]he majority of our IRISH GIRLS are honest hard workers," McCorry expresses "hope that out IRISH GIRLS will profit by every line of what is written specially for their benefit" (vii; original emphasis).

A notable example of this male perspective on Irish womanhood is *Annie Reilly; or, the Fortunes of an Irish Girl in New York* (1873). Author John McElgun displays a fine turn of phrase, making his novel among the most entertaining reads in this genre. He shares with McCorry and others concern that Protestant proselytizers will corrupt young, Irish, women emigrants. The preface to McElgun's novel thus warns that "such wretches are not few,

even in free America; and, consequently, it devolves upon every intelligent Irish girl to study thoroughly the truths of her religion, that she may be able to repel the foul slanders against her creed, as Annie Reilly did" (viii).

Annie Reilly opens in 1850s Ireland. Annie's family fall victim to a wicked middleman named Ryan, and their eviction from their small Munster farm follows. Annie's sweetheart, James O'Rourke, flees to America after being accused of conspiring to steal arms from a local police barracks. Annie flees as well. But in a manifestation of the star-crossed lover theme common to this type of fiction, James and Annie sail on different transatlantic ships and consequently lose track of each other.

The novel provides description, rare in these novels, of a Famine-era crossing from Ireland to New York via Liverpool. Readers thus learn about that English city's "man-catcher" (vi), the label given to unscrupulous persons who lure passengers to squalid boardinghouses and dubious transatlantic vessels. Painstakingly described, moreover, are the unbearable conditions in the steerage quarters of coffin ships. Upon arrival at New York's Castle Garden, grifters await the tired, naïve, immigrants trudging ashore. Little is known about author McElgun, but his prefatory statement, that he has witnessed such events (vi), has the ring of truth.

McElgun's novel pays particular attention to the second generation, the children of the Famine Irish immigrants, who run great risks if denied a proper, parochial education. Consider this exchange at the Sweenys' home, presented as a haven of Irish American Catholicism. A guest, Miss Talbot, sizes up the Sweenys' friend, Annie:

> "From Ireland, I'll bet a dollar, come," said she, turning her eyes to Mrs. Sweeny.
>
> "Yes; the lady is just as much Irish as you are yourself," said that lady. "It should not require much penetration on your part to tell that."
>
> (205–06)

The assessment provokes Miss Talbot to rebuke:

> "*Me* Irish!" said she, with a short nod of great force. "*I* am no such a thing. Is it because father and mother was rose there that *I* am Irish?"
>
> "Exactly; there could be no better reason," said Mrs. Sweeny.
>
> (206, original emphasis)

The guest's response draws ridicule:

> Miss Talbot stood up as if to depart, which would have been a great calamity just then; but after twisting her face a few times like a short-sighted man with a bad razor, she went to the window and began beating a tune with her fingers on the glass. Annie and Miss Sweeny had a hard task to restrain laughter.
>
> (206, original emphasis)

McElgun maintains that the Irish can achieve great material success in the so-called land of the free but only if they remain loyal to the Catholic Church. Such loyalty brings reward at the novel's end: Annie is reunited—at Mass, of course—with devout James, the sweetheart to whom she has remained faithful despite their separation. James's employer makes him a partner "in return for his industry and ability" (242). The couple marries and buys a fine house in a grand New York neighborhood.

Mrs. Sadlier Writes for Bridget—and Bessy

An exception to the general rule of all-male publishing is an author who was introduced in Chapter 3: Mary Anne Sadlier. Sadlier's popular 1861 novel, *Bessy Conway; or, The Irish Girl in America*,[11] underscores the shift away from prizing of the old Irish ways and toward emphasis on new Irish American Catholic identities. A story of an Irish-born American heroine who chooses life's high road, the novel aims, according its preface, "to point out to Irish girls in America—especially that numerous class whose lot it is to hire themselves out for work, the true and never-failing path to success in this world, and happiness in the next" (5).

Bessy Conway opens in 1838, on the happy Conway family farm in County Tipperary. Following a job offer in America, Bessy decides to emigrate, not out of desperation but "to see the world" (7). Bessy encounters Henry Herbert, a Protestant and son of the Conways' landlord, as the two sail across the Atlantic. He confesses that he is on the ship because of his undying love for her; Bessy tells him that marriage is impossible because of religious differences. This is but one of many temptations that Bessy resists in the course of the novel. She is rewarded by novel's end: Henry converts to Catholicism and marries her. The couple returns to Ireland. She rescues her family from Famine-era eviction—in Sadlier's fiction, families almost always are saved not by men but by women. Henry becomes a landlord beloved by his tenants—a *paterfamilias*, preserver of a patriarchal class system. Manichean themes also are evident in the contrast that Sadlier draws between two other men whom Bessy meets on her first Atlantic voyage. Ned Finnigan buys a bar in America and so begins a downward slide into degeneracy, whereas the hunchbacked Paul Brannigan remains a devout Catholic and so enjoys a fulfilling life in America. The moral of each tale is evident, as are the exemplary lives the author intends her Irish Catholic readers to follow.

Claims to Racial Superiority

Examples that Sadlier presents in *Bessy Conway* extend beyond the well-lived life to encompass claims to superiority—on moral, intellectual, and also on ethnic and racial planes. All these claims surface in a scene that takes place in the kitchen of Bessy's employers. Bessy walks in on the Irish cook, named Bridget, naturally. With Bridget is a person whom Sadlier describes by matter-of-fact use of a hateful racial slur. He is the Black handyman—Wash,

a name that suggests wordplay both on the name Washington and, given the dialogue reproduced below, on the act of washing. An argument is underway: "[T]hey had been discussing certain points of morality in connection with religion, and the subject being an exciting one they had grown quite hot upon it, Bridget, of course, having the best of the argument as far as talk went" (88). Bridget holding the upper hand against him, Wash turns to another Irish woman for assistance: "Wash was not slow in appealing to Bessy as one who ought to know," Sadlier writes. "The point under discussion was whether people did not pay to go to confession, or as Wash phrased it, 'to get whitewashed' " (88). But Wash's voicing of an allegation often levied by anti-Catholic nativists—that confession was some kind of blasphemous racket—incenses Bessy:

> "Why nonsense, Wash," said Bessy very seriously, "what puts the like of that in your head?"
>
> "By Gosh, it's true enough," said the nigger with a grave shake of the head, "didn't I hear Rose Hagerty ask Missis for money to go to confession."
>
> "Now, Bessy, how can we stand that?" said Bridget with a wrathful look at Wash. "There's a story for you!"
>
> "Guess, *I* didn't make it," returned the nigger, "Rose knew what she was about tell as most people, and I hear her say dat ever so often just wait I tell you. 'Spose the priest don't charge much for lying or stealing."
>
> (88, original emphasis)

Bridget is made to "wince" because Wash has insinuated that either she or her countrywoman is a liar or a thief. The cook's response contains yet another reference to Wash's skin color:

> "You black devil," she said with rising choler, "you don't mean to say any one here does one or the other?"
>
> "Can't say, Bridget," returned Wash with provoking coolness, "it an't far from stealing to throw good bread in the dirtbox and butter in the greasepot. Den for lies—gosh!" and he chuckled to himself at the thought, "golly! I hear as many told in dis kitchen as would fill a barrel!—"
>
> Bridget was speechless with anger, but Bessy assured the old man that no one ever paid anything for going to confession, adding that those who were capable of making such an assertion seldom troubled a priest at all.
>
> (88, original emphasis)

Bessy next draws a line that separates herself from the household's other Irish domestic servants:

> "If they went to confession regularly," said she, "as they ought to do, Wash! You'd never see them wasteful or extravagant about other people's things, or makin' free in any way with what didn't belong to

> them!—no, nor you'd never hear them speakin' anything but the truth, or askin' for money to go to confession."
>
> (88–89)

The scene fixes Bessy's status as the moral and intellectual superior in the room. Aware of the pitfalls of American life, Bessy attends confession and Mass regularly. Bridget and other Irish women servants in the house do not; eventually, they fall painfully by the wayside. In words free of dialect—in her diction and demeanor, Bessy is superior to persons with whom she shares ethnicity—Bessy tries to show the other Irish servants the error of their ways. Their laughter reveals them unaware of the hell that lies in store for those who wander from the faith. Bessy, not Bridget, has the last word in the debate, telling Wash that if the others attended confession regularly, they would make better employees; they would be more honest and less wasteful workers. Sounding a theme that she and other disciples of Archbishop Hughes favored, Sadlier thus asserts that American capitalism benefits from a devoutly Catholic labor force.[12]

The scene further posits the Irish—not just Bessy but even Bridget, who "of course" has "the best of the argument" even before Bessy steps in—as superior to African Americans, represented by Wash. Of such claims to racial superiority, Catherine Eagan notes: "[T]he Irish-American novel, particularly as written by the embattled famine generation of immigrants, makes it clear that whiteness was an identity to which Irish Americans not only felt entitled but actively pursued" (140). Certainly that is the case in this scene by Sadlier, which contrasts speech patterns and language to underscore racial difference. The handyman's syntax strays tragicomically from standard English. The aim of confession, as the Black man named Wash understands it, is "to get whitewashed," a pigmentary goal presumably worth paying for. And the narrator prefers a patent racial slur to the more respectful term of the period, "negro." The gist of Sadlier's unsubtle clues is evident: all the Irish in America are white and thus superior to all African Americans.

Of Race, Women's Rights, and Sacrifice

Dovetailing with the claim to racial superiority is a marked hostility to movements that would make US society more equal. Given that Archbishop Hughes expressed tolerance for the institution of Southern slavery even as he opposed Southern secession,[13] it is perhaps no surprise that writers whom he influenced, like Sadlier, portrayed abolitionism as a Protestant project to be avoided. Indeed, Sadlier and others often extended that linkage to another prominent social movement of the day, vigorously opposed by such a champion of the patriarchy as Hughes, women's rights.

In the wake of the landmark 1848 Seneca Falls Declaration that "all men and women are created equal" (qtd in Mani 62), the suffragist movement in

the 1850s and 1860s increasingly connected the patriarchal family structure with women's political and social rights.[14] Activists campaigned for married women's rights in relation to property, wages, sexual relations, child custody, and—most abhorrent to Catholic writers like Sadlier and McCorry—divorce. Such stances were seen as proof that the women's movement, like the abolitionist movement, was a Protestant affair not to be trusted. In this period, as Isenberg notes that "[m]ost supporters of the women's rights movement were also active in radical religious groups such as the Progressive Friends, evangelical and transcendental free churches, or Religious Union of Associationists" (Isenberg, "Women's Rights").[15] Protestant women's agitation for status within their own denominations served to confirm Catholic elites' antipathy.

Exemplifying this attitude are scenes in Sadlier's 1862 novel, *Old and New*. First, two Protestant ladies, Mrs. Susanna L. Bumford and Mrs. Jedediah Hopington, pay a visit to "Madam Von Wiegel" (117) and her daughter Bertha, wealthy women presumed also to be Protestant. But soon the ladies are lampooned out of this presumption. They make their pitch for funds to support mission charities supposedly to rescue the children of "[c]hiefly low Irish and Italians" (118)—rescue them, that is, by "send[ing] them out West" after providing them "a certain amount of education" (121). Madam Von Wiegel explains, "with dignity," that she will give them nothing because she is a Catholic whose husband is German (122). Referring to a washerwoman whom the Protestants had reviled in the course of their pitch, Madam Von Wiegel "calmly" expects that they "will set *me* down, too, as 'a low Irishwoman,' for . . . I have no greater respect than she for religious *humbugs*, and pious kidnappers" (122–23, original emphasis). With that, the mission ladies are shown the door.

Moments later, two more women arrive. Quite different from the last visitors, these are dressed in clothes that Sadlier describes as "half masculine, half feminine, but rather inclining to the former" (125): "gauntlets with deep leather cuffs attached," "rakish-looking hats," "Turkish trowsers and stout buskins ostentatiously displayed beneath skirts that Diana herself might have gone hunting in . . ." (126). Immediately the visitors seek signatures on a petition to be sent to the legislature. When asked, "To what does the petition relate?" one replies, "To our *rights*, madam! . . . our trampled rights as women" (127, original emphasis). Eventually they remember to introduce themselves as "the Reverend Julietta Fireproof, B. A.," and "*Dorothea May Wolstoncroft Brown*" (128, original emphasis). Clearly the latter is a play on the name of Mary Wollestonecraft, proto-feminist in eighteenth-century England and mother of Mary Shelley. Like the ludicrous description of these women's garb, the novel's indication that Wolstoncroft/Wollestonecraft is unknown to the Von Wiegels displays Sadlier's contempt for these women and their ideas. The visitors then offer tickets to lectures on "subjects of great interest and importance, including Woman's Rights, Spiritualism and Negro Slavery!" (129). Refusing all

their invitations, Von Wiegel—in Sadlier's words, "the stately Irish lady" (129)—explains:

> "I belong to a Church that teaches unlimited submission to the Divine Word, and holds with St. Paul that women should *obey* their husbands, and, moreover, keep silent in public assemblies. I see no injustice, therefore, or oppression, in the custom which consigns us women to the shades of domestic life."
>
> (129–30, original emphasis)

The scene is pivotal, as Colleen McDannell points out ("Devil" 59). It serves to instruct the Irish Catholic immigrant woman reader not only to resist but also how to resist assertedly Protestant notions that women, or persons of color, ought to exercise rights equally with white men.

Furthering this instruction is *The Lost Rosary*, the 1870 novel by Peter McCorry. The preface, parts of which were excerpted earlier in this chapter, expresses concern that American Catholics are oblivious to "the enormity of the evils that result from impure literature" (viii). Comparison of the novel's portrayal of its principal heroine, Mary O'Donnell, with its portrayal of a suffragist makes clear that works advocating women's rights rank high on author McCorry's list of "impure" literature.

Mary and her cousin, Ailey O'Donnell, leave Donegal, Ireland, in 1847, the worst year of the Great Famine. They sail to America to join their boyfriends, Barney McAuley and Tim Heggarty, who had emigrated two years earlier. The O'Donnells encounter a stormy crossing, a trope that these novels often employ to foreshadow the difficult immigrant life ahead.[16] Inevitably the women and the men lose one another, and inevitably too the story contrasts the good Catholic immigrants with the bad. Among the good is Mary O'Donnell, an exemplar of Catholic womanly virtues. In a memorable scene prior to the O'Donnells' departure from Ireland, Mary attends to inmates at a Famine fever hospital—among them, her cousin Ailey and her aunt Biddy. McCorry writes of Mary:

> Look on that weak suffering girl! Ye who are lifted into high places by the means of sin. Look on her bended form inhaling the breath of disease and death, ye loud-mouthed creatures of her sex, who disturb society by your ranting and canting about women's rights. Cast your eyes, each haughty dame, from the glare of the ball-room, and behold Mary O'Donnell the embodiment of a glory you can never possess.
>
> (112)

He prattles on for several more paragraphs, praising the chastity, modesty, honesty, and self-abnegation of "our Irish girls," an oft-used phrase of his. While in the hospital, Mary catches a glimpse of the lost rosary of the title. Given to her by her dying father, it had mysteriously disappeared earlier in the

novel. Circumstances prevent Mary from retrieving it at the hospital, but it magically appears later athwart a New York tombstone. This eventually leads Mary and Ailey to a miraculous reunion with Tim and Barney, men who have kept the faith. A double wedding follows.

Quite different from McCorry's exaltation of the self-sacrificing Mary is the ridicule he heaps on one Miss Longbow, an "old vixen" (125) and "loud spinster" (207) who heads a women's group at a Protestant church led by Rev. Ebenezer Sookes, a pastor portrayed as an emasculated believer in women's rights. Longbow's prejudice against persons who share ethnicity with the novel's main characters and its intended readers is revealed in her reference to a policeman with a brogue as an "Impudent Irish Boor" (126). Miss Longbow serves as "secretaryess" to the women's rights association, many of whose members, McCorry asserts, have joined to take "revenge" after suffering "disappointment in love . . . at the hands of thoughtless men" (206–07). At *Lost Rosary*'s conclusion, in a purported conversation with publisher Donahoe, McCorry levels the same accusation at the secretaryess herself: "I happen to know Miss Longbow's antecedents, and I can assure you that her present course is chiefly dictated by revenge. She was disappointed in marriage, and then turned her attention to the abuse of that state at which she unfortunately could not arrive" (218). McCorry claims that his contrasting of the laudable Mary with the laughable Longbow has "shown by a kind of a negative process the way to win 'Women's Rights,' as they are falsely termed" (219). Pleasing a man like McCorry or Donahoe is the real way forward for women: "Prove to them that the sweet, retiring nature of modesty wins upon us, and conquers us, and she will quit her bawling and screaming on public platforms" (219).

According to this literature, Irish women and Irish men face different destinies. "Irish male emigrants are expected to succeed; the female is expected to sacrifice: for her parents, her siblings, her extended family, her employer's family and her church," Maureen Murphy writes. "While the servant girl is often rewarded with marriage to a kind, steady man, and sometimes with return to Ireland, it is the survival and prosperity of her family, her father, mother and siblings, that promises the greatest satisfaction" ("Irish Servant" 136). Murphy finds reinforcement of this notion of virtuous self-sacrifice in Irish folklore and mythology and, of course, in the paragon of self-sacrificing virtue, St. Bridget herself.[17]

A Nonfiction Manual for the Irish American Woman

Writings intended to guide the Irish female immigrant toward a proper American Catholic life initially all took the form of fiction—in particular, novels like those just surveyed, by McElgun, McCorry, and Sadlier. That changed in 1877, when these fiction-based manuals made way for a nonfiction newcomer, *The Mirror of True Womanhood; A Book of Instruction for Women in the World*.[18] Its author was Father Bernard J. O'Reilly.

Born in County Mayo in 1820, O'Reilly emigrated while still a child.[19] Following his ordination in 1843 in Quebec, he served as a priest during many trying episodes of nineteenth-century Irish American history. Recent research by Jason King has shown that his ministrations during the 1847 quarantine of typhus-ridden Famine emigrants along Quebec's St. Lawrence River informed a considerable amount of the eyewitness accounts in Gerard Keegan's *Famine Diary*.[20] For a time, O'Reilly was a rhetoric professor at St. John's College, one of several institutions of higher education founded by Archbishop Hughes. He became chaplain to the Irish Brigade, a unit of Irish and Irish Americans that fought for the Union during the Civil War. Then he turned to writing, in an array of forums, including encyclopedia entries, newspaper dispatches, and biographies.[21] It is his nonfiction instruction manuals for which he is most remembered, however. The first, *True Womanhood*, proved an eighteen-edition bestseller for New York-based publisher P. J. Kenedy.[22]

The content and style of *True Womanhood* suggest the author's familiarity with his intended readership. Most Irish women came to the United States from the more rural and poor parts of the west and south of Ireland (Turbin 36), where Irish was the primary language. They were as young as fifteen, often no older than twenty-four.[23] As Marjorie Howes notes, many arrived in America with little knowledge of urban life and few marketable skills ("Maids" 98). In *True Womanhood*, O'Reilly addresses these women according to the occupations they have found in America. He counsels factory girls, for instance, to find female friends their own age, to refresh their minds with music and reading, to dress moderately, to save their earnings, and to be both pure and brave of heart (427–34). O'Reilly seeks to hearten "dressmakers and saleswomen": "That you are dependent on your labor is not a shame, nor a disgrace, nor a sin; your poverty is honorable; your anxious desire to make your labor yield aid and support to the dear ones at home as well as yourself is most honorable to you . . ." (408).

At first blush O'Reilly's equation of poverty with honor, like his espousal elsewhere of better working conditions, might seem anathema to advocates of the work-ethic ideology of the American capitalism. Closer examination reveals otherwise. Promising the reader that her reward will come in her life after death, *True Womanhood* admonishes her to be content with her lot, no matter how menial. O'Reilly's text thus disseminated values characteristic of the then-current devotional revolution, which treated suffering as essential to redemption[24] (McGreevy 28). Its message must have seemed sweet music to the ears of promoters of patriarchy and captains of industry alike.

True Womanhood acknowledges the tendency of some immigrant women to cast glances back at Ireland. In keeping with the second-generation novels, O'Reilly's nonfiction manual encourages his readers instead to look forward toward an American Catholic family life. No matter the financial circumstances, a good Catholic family will thrive, O'Reilly assures, that is, as long as the wife accepts that her first duty is to her husband (57). Although he makes passing mention of saints said to watch over the labor force—for

example, St. Zita, patron saint of servants, and St. Margaret of Louvain, patron saint of tavern workers (443)—O'Reilly urges emulation of a different Catholic icon, the Virgin Mary. It is she who watches over home and hearth. Ultimately, that is where the reader belongs: even though an Irish immigrant woman must play a role in the workplace, her true place is in her home. O'Reilly calls the home "Paradise" and so leaves the proper wifely reader to infer that her husband is the equivalent of God. Paternalism is redoubled in the case of women in domestic service. Working as most do in Protestant households, they must, in O'Reilly's view, remain extra vigilant to protect their Catholic faith.

Despite surface similarities, the post-Famine writings of this priest in fact treat Catholic-Protestant interaction with more nuance than did the earlier Famine Irish Catholic writers. By the time *True Womanhood* appeared in 1877, Irish America included a generation of well-schooled adults with loyalties to a middle class comprising Protestants as well as Catholics. The priest adjusted doctrine in recognition of this demographic change; as Eva Roa White puts it, O'Reilly "addresses both the prefamine immigrant, who by that point would be a well-established matron with a family and a home of her own, and the new postfamine immigrant, the single woman who is hoping to follow in her footsteps" (103). Accordingly, O'Reilly's manual allows that "American society is not divided into distinct and acknowledged classes," yet nevertheless long has been led by "a well-defined and recognized 'good society,' which is almost if not quite as exclusive in its intercourse as any of the aristocracies of Europe" (341). But that social structure is changing; O'Reilly sees "in every large city throughout the country a steadily increasing population, whose educated classes could form among themselves very creditable social gatherings, but who, very properly, prefer to mingle on all social occasions with families belonging to other religious denominations" (342). This circa-1877 accommodation of ecumenical mingling departs markedly from the Famine Irish writings like *Blakes and Flanagans*, the 1855 Sadlier novel that depicted social advancement as potentially an unwavering path toward the Protestant cesspool.[25] Eva Roa White observes: "O'Reilly's American is a new breed: the Irish-American woman" (103). Having created her, O'Reilly and others turned to fashioning her essential partner, the true Irish American man.

Tempering the Irish Brute

The arrival of the Famine Irish merged Irishness with Catholicism in the American cultural imaginary. Church leaders sought distance from the negative aspects of this merger, not least from the popular-culture image of the brawling, alcoholic, simianized Irishman.[26] Yet within that stereotype lurked the unpalatable truth that many Irish Catholic men whiled away hours frequenting places of ill repute. The truth surfaces in novels of the time; to name two examples from Sadlier, a liking for lowbrow theater sets

off a life of misery for Harry Blake, and the purchase of a tavern precipitates Ned Finnigan's slide.[27] Irish homosociality was abetted by men-only bars, male-dominated Irish nationalist groups, the Democratic Party, trade unions, and secret societies. All competed for an Irishman's time with the institution on whose survival the Catholic Church depended: the family.

In this as in other instances, the aims of the Catholic Church paralleled those of the state. The saloon was a menace to families' stability; it was, as David Lloyd puts it, a site "out of kilter with modern disciplinary projects" ("Counterparts" 138). Although itself a product of modernity, "in its relation to the increasingly disciplined rhythms of work and leisure, it is nonetheless a site which preserves and transforms according to its own spaces and rhythms long-standing popular practices that will not be incorporated by discipline" (138–39). Many barroom practices resist capitalist discipline: buying a round, breaking into song, telling a yarn, repeating a rumor, and even engaging in "conversation itself, which becomes increasingly a value in a society ever more subject to the individuation and alienation of the worker within the system of production" (139). Lloyd applies these observations to the Dublin of James Joyce's time; they apply just as easily to nineteenth-century Irish America, as Roy Rosenzweig and Richard Stivers have shown.[28]

Notorious among the rituals and habits through which nineteenth-century Irish American males forged bonds was St. Patrick's Day. Nominated a religious holiday to honor the patron saint of Ireland, March 17 had evolved into an Irish nationalist rally, a once-a-year opportunity for the Catholic Irish American man to parade his defiance through the heart of hostile, WASP environs. Worse still in the eyes of Church leaders, St. Patrick's Day had become a green-tinged occasion for "drowning the shamrock," a rite that etched excessive drinking and violence as definitive traits of Irish masculinity. Graphic evidence appeared in Thomas Nast's "The Day We Celebrate," a *Harper's Weekly* cartoon of an 1867 St. Patrick's Day melee.[29] Bearing the subtitles "Rum," "Attack on Police," "Irish riot," and "Blood," the engraving depicts coarse-visaged, high-hatted, sash-wearing Irish men—plus one pipe-smoking boy—kicking and clubbing helpless New York police officers.

Confronted with the Irish American male drinking culture and its attendant counter-modern shenanigans, the Catholic Church worked to impose discipline in line with a modern, capitalist state. Its clergy constructed new traditions for the Irish American man and then deployed supportive writers to extol those reforms. Central to this strategy was temperance.

By the 1870s, a new phrase had entered the Irish American Catholic lexicon: "to take the pledge," meaning to swear before God (and priest) an oath to abstain from alcohol for life. Its familiarity was a testament to groups like the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America and the inimitably named Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst. These had spread across the continent, notwithstanding a shaky beginning. Back in 1849, Tipperary-born Theobald Mathew, the founder of Ireland's then-decade-old Total Abstinence Society, had encountered a cool reception from no less a figure than Archbishop

Hughes. Hughes knew that Irish America held little enthusiasm for the project, not only because of its fondness for the drink but also because the non-Catholic US establishment was praising the friar's work.[30] Hughes "warned Mathew that his given title, Apostle of Temperance, had made him dangerously popular with Protestants" (Shaw 237). Yet soon Hughes gave his imprimatur, confident that Mathew's efforts could aid his own project of securing high status for Irish Catholics in America.

The movement to stop Catholics from drinking contrasted with that for Protestants. The latter extended to women as well as men. Yet even though alcoholism among Irish American women was quite prevalent (Stivers 187–89), "temperance for Catholics," McDannell writes, "was very much a male affair—organized and run by men and directed against male drinking" ("True Men" 24). The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America and the Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst, moreover, joined a host of other men-only groups that clergy organized in this period. There were parish societies, benevolent societies, and reading groups, as well as the Catholic Athletic League and other sporting organizations. Many were Irish-led, including the most influential of Catholic fraternal organizations—the Knights of Columbus, founded in 1882 by a US-born Irish priest, Michael J. McGivney. The Knights vigorously promoted both Catholicism and American patriotism.[31] Efforts to masculinize Catholicism also included the setting aside of special times for male-only confessions, Masses, and retreats. In Church parlance regular Mass attendance was a "manly" activity—drinking and carousing, decidedly "unmanly" (23).

Reform further required the Church to rain on the St. Patrick's Day parade. To document the shift toward a more respectable, middle-class, modern image of the holiday, McDannell examines late nineteenth-century parish bulletins and the *Pilot*, Boston's Irish Catholic newspaper. Letters and editorials, she finds, urged that St. Patrick's Day money be spent on charity and good works rather than revelry and bad behavior. They called upon Irish men to attend events celebrating the saint's life rather than participate in public drunkenness. The campaign had its effects. In 1879, the *Pilot* reported that "the most marked feature of the celebration this year, even more than last, is the growing tendency to prefer indoor to outdoor demonstrations" (26). No parades took place in Boston in 1881, 1882, or 1884, and by 1885 marchers were parading "quietly" (26). Philadelphia abandoned its parade in favor of an annual lecture. No doubt anti-Catholic agitation had a role to play in quelling Hibernian hijinks. But major drivers in this modification of male behavior, McDannell and others agree, were temperance and other Church-supported reforms.

A Manual for the True Irish American Man

The Catholic elites' campaign to temper the Irish brute encompassed popular culture as well as Church organizations. In Irish American Catholic fiction during this period, all the heroes were devout and hardworking family

men—noble characters like McElgun's James O'Rourke and McCorry's Barney McAuley and Tim Heggarty. Nonfiction appeared in 1878, when publisher P. J. Kenedy released a manual intended to give proper guidance to the Irish Catholic male in America. *True Men as We Need Them; A Book of Instruction for Men in the World* joined its counterpart volume, the then-year-old *Mirror of True Womanhood*. Not surprisingly, both were the work of the same author—Father Bernard J. O'Reilly, who with the blessings of Archbishop Hughes's successor, Brooklyn-born Cardinal John McCloskey, became the first Church intellectual to write a treatise on the thorny subject of Catholicism and the Irish American man.[32]

True Men is a manual "intended for laymen of all classes" (2). The book conveys the belief—held by O'Reilly and almost all his contemporary Catholic writers—that whereas Irish women were religious and respectable by nature, men needed to be made "true." O'Reilly aims high: "True men combine in their lives so many heroic and Godlike features, that, although living in the turmoil of the worldly, they would be hailed as Saints by the holiest of priests or the most unworthy of ascetics" (3). Apparently, the true man receives his instructions from God himself. Nor is the Irish male any longer to take his lead from St. Patrick: having been unmanned by the immoral acts Irish Catholic men committed in his name, that patron saint merits but one mention in O'Reilly's 460-page tome.

Larded with platitudes like "Put your heart into your work," "Create your opportunities," and "Have a purpose in Life" (15–16), O'Reilly's manual advises men how to succeed in America. "Education, training, discipline, cultivation of heart and mind, at home or at school, can only aim at one thing," he writes, adding: "to prepare young men for the business of life, for conduct, self-improvement, self-control, and success in work" (17).

The true man's duties reside at home. As the ultimate authority in the household, he must be firm yet fair. O'Reilly criticizes husbands who abuse their wives.[33] Consistent with his willingness to accommodate mainstream US values within Irish Catholic traditions—manifested in *True Womanhood*'s acceptance of interfaith mingling—O'Reilly edges away from the Famine generation's wholehearted endorsement of corporal punishment. Echoing the approach of Mr. Thomson, the proto-Protestant character in Sadlier's *Blakes and Flanagans*,[34] O'Reilly advises the late nineteenth-century Irish American Catholic patriarch to lead by example, not with violence but rather with calm control.

O'Reilly is aware that control is not easy—that a man might find it difficult, for example, to behave as if he owes preeminent duties to the woman to whom he finds himself married. Thus O'Reilly offers advice on how to cope with "a weak or silly wife" (43–44), a "vicious wife" (52), or "one inferior in culture" (40), and even one who is "perverse of disposition" (55–57). He recounts parables; in one, a "noble husband," aided by his "true mother's wisdom," transformed a "little silly wife" (47–52). O'Reilly imposes on women a reciprocal duty to enable men to shun saloon life by creating a

husband-friendly home environment.[35] *True Men* returns to *True Womanhood*'s home-as-Paradise metaphor—and thus also to its implication that the husband-father is God in his home. Imagined is a Christ-like man martyred daily through his toil, the embodiment of the ubiquitous picture in which the bleeding Sacred Heart is encircled by a crown of thorns and framed by Jesus's stigmata-bearing hands and sad, all-knowing face. The woman who fails in her wifely duties in effect crucifies her savior on Earth.[36]

Notwithstanding such depictions, O'Reilly and his contemporaries acknowledged that women were by no means the sole cause of the sorry state of the Catholic family. Just as *True Womanhood* teaches females to emulate Mary, therefore, *True Men* proposes as the ideal role model for males Mary's husband and Jesus's beleaguered mortal father, Joseph. "Can we wonder that this man," O'Reilly asks, "so holy, so true, so honored by God and his angels . . . should have been so reverenced in all Christian lands, and that, in our own days, he should at length be solemnly proclaimed as the Guardian of Protector of the whole Christian family?" (211). McDannell comments: "Catholic true men, who followed in the footsteps of St. Joseph and not St. Patrick, upheld the family ideals preached from pulpits and published in advice books" ("True Men" 34).

Like its predecessor *True Womanhood*, *True Men* advises men in a catalog of occupations; O'Reilly's list comprises, in order, lawyers, physicians, statesmen, writers, journalists (handsomely described as "Toilers of the Pen"), businessmen, and laborers. The latter two categories warrant particular attention.

With regard to businessmen, O'Reilly envisions capitalism's potential savior in the body of the principled Catholic participant. "Will you," he inquires, "help bring back the Divine Presence, the ever-burning Light, and the Voice that cannot be bought or silenced—to the counting house, the exchange, the factory? Let the writer point the way . . ." (446). One imagines a young James Joyce in a pew at his Clongowes school retreat, enduring this stern priest's suspicion of modernity. "Modern industry, modern business, like Eve, when the forbidden fruit has been plucked and tasted, finds that the sweet savor lasts but a moment, leaving behind the bitterness of death," O'Reilly vents. "Even before the poison has wrought its worst on heart and brain, the sinner discovers that conscience, not gain is the 'best guide,' and would give worlds to recall his past 'ignorance,' and forget the pangs and terrors of the guilty knowledge he has acquired" (447). Like Sadlier and others, O'Reilly well knows the evil influence of greed. Unlike them, however, he resists labeling American capitalism as an instrument of Protestantism. Quixotically, he wants to give capitalism a Catholic conscience.

With regard to laborers, O'Reilly writes with greater comfort. *True Man*'s final chapter is "The Laboring Man," a personage "[r]eserved to the last place because the dearest of all" (xvii). O'Reilly reminds his readers that Jesus was the son of a carpenter and that Jesus's disciples likewise were workingmen. (Perhaps it is St. Patrick's status as a former slave, not a free

laborer, that helps relegate Ireland's patron to O'Reilly's literary waste can.) But then O'Reilly applies the sting. "And you, O dearest brother," he addresses the lowly among his readers, "do not give your ear or your heart to this new gospel of hate they would have you believe in" (460). He reiterates his condemnation of labor agitators: "Do not believe in the ravings of a few madmen, about the abolition of wealth, and all such idle, destructive fancies" (460). Such destruction makes no sense in America, he insists:

> In a country such as this in which you have cast your lot, you are free to rise,—you see so many rise every day from your own level to sit, in Church and in State, with the princes of the people. Be conscientious, God-fearing, sober, steady, persevering, lovers of truth, of honor, of honesty, and all true manliness—and God will surely prosper you.
>
> (460)

Acquisition of station and riches is a divine gift—"God grant you to make a right use of it"—for which the true man owes a duty "to help others around you rise" (460). It is the American way:

> Look at our magnificent American forests,—see how by the side and beneath the shade of these lordly trees, that are the admiration of the whole earth, their juniors and successors shoot up, straight, vigorous, and aiming at being one day the equals in height and stateliness of their elders, But cut down the glorious forest or set fire to it, and never again until the end of time will such a magnificent growth arise from the ashes.
>
> (460)

Like fireworks on the Fourth of July, *True Men as We Need Them* affirms the American Dream. O'Reilly warns against the detractors of capitalism, discounts nostalgia for Ireland, and acclaims the fertile promise of the new land. He aims not only to nurture the expansion of Irish American service to the emerging US state but also to anchor within society a reconstructed, American-identified, Catholic Church.[37] In parishes across the United States, the duel of patron saints was destined to be won by Joseph.

Tatters in Lace Curtains

As the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, the pews of Catholic churches increasingly were filled by Irish Americans with white-collar jobs and bourgeois tastes. They moved to middle-class homes and adorned them with pricey curtains—latticework that served not just as a status symbol but also as a means to see out without being seen themselves. These lace-curtain Irish, as they were not-so-fondly called, preferred to leave behind Ireland and much of their Irish heritage. They embraced Anglophilia and service to the America state in their push for WASP respectability and full US ideal citizenship.

No fiction writer of the late nineteenth century captured this lace-curtain rebuff of the old country better than Maurice Francis Egan. Born in Philadelphia in 1852, Egan was the son of a County Tipperary man who had emigrated a decade or so before the Great Famine. A successful businessman, the father had married a high-toned Philadelphia Protestant who later converted to Catholicism. The father became a Democratic Party ward boss and a lifelong supporter of Irish nationalism. His son, meanwhile, graduated from LaSalle College in Philadelphia and commenced graduate studies in English literature at Georgetown. Maurice Egan enjoyed a successful career in both Catholic journalism and the academy. He became chair of the Department of English Literature at the University of Notre Dame in 1888; in 1896, he was appointed to a similar position at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. Egan wrote at least ten works of literary criticism as well as songs, poems, novels, and short stories, not to mention a memoir.[38] Egan also coedited the ten-volume *Irish Literature* (1904),[39] a forerunner of *The Field Day Anthology*.[40] He exemplified the middle-class, Irish American who emerged toward the end of the nineteenth century. This is apparent in Figure 4.1, a formal portrait made a year before his death in 1924. By this time a 70-year-old man of aristocratic demeanor, Egan puffs his chest and displays a girth large enough to imply the good life but small enough to

Figure 4.1 "Dr. Maurice Francis Egan." 1923.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

suggest self-restraint. His bald pate, white beard, and dark brows complement his bemedaled, formal attire. Egan sits erect, fist planted into thigh, the expression on his face proclaiming, "I have more important things to do than this." Here was someone whose Catholicism had congealed with American patriotism and who thus placed great distance between himself and his Famine-era forbears.

An example may be found in Egan's relation to parochial school education—not as the Famine-era father who complied with Church urgings that he send his children to parochial school but rather as the second-generation son on the receiving end of that parental compliance. Egan's 1924 memoir, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, reveals mixed views on the value of that education. Some subjects were well-taught, but others were not, and the nativity of the teachers seemed to count a great deal in this regard. Egan recalls that the teachers at St. Philip's school were "excellent" yet adds that "Miss Moloney, a quaint gentle person, would have been equally proficient had she not been obliged to struggle against a terrific mob of youngsters from the docks and from those parts of the waterfront where the Irish stevedores lived and worked" (*Recollections* 53). This "tough" crowd evidently bullied Egan: "a small boy, well brought up and well dressed was obliged to struggle for his life" (*Recollections* 53). He leaves his final institution in Philadelphia, the Christian Brothers's all-male LaSalle College, because of illness and a grievance. The illness was anemia, whereas the grievance was revealed thus: "Among the Irish-born Brothers English literature counted as almost negligible in comparison with mathematics" (55).

These experiences did not dampen Egan's fervor for Catholicism. Discerning a nascent Catholic intellectual movement on his 1878 arrival in New York, Egan seized "a chance," as he put it, "to take a step forward in the evolution of Catholic literature, of which Mrs. Sadlier, author of *The Blakes and the Flanagans* and Dr. J. V. Huntington, author of *Rosemary*, were the principal interpreters" (*Recollections* 97).

Admiration for Sadlier 1855's novel is patent in one of the short stories published in his 1885 collection, *The Life around Us*. The story's title is "Philistra," after a fictional "town in the middle states" run by an anti-Catholic WASP elite (63), perhaps named as a play on the word and "philistine."[41] The Philadelphia-born protagonist, Cornelius Blake, is a carbon copy of Sadlier's wayward Henry T. Blake. Like Henry, Cornelius is the son of a "frugal," hardworking Irish father and a weak-spirited Irish mother (71). Cornelius's parents "done well" in America, and, when they died, bequeathed "a snug sum" to each of their six children (71). Like Henry, Cornelius attended public school after his father declared of his children, "Sunday-school's enough for them!" (73). Notwithstanding the mixed feelings on Catholic education that Egan would report four decades later in his memoir, in "Philistra" the author takes a satirical swipe at the lace-curtain Irish pretension that favored public schooling. Henry's son decides to become a lawyer, a profession for which the narrator has little

respect: Cornelius "mastered *Blackstone* and the other textbooks put into his hands with a fatal facility that had been made second nature by the superficial training of the public schools. He had never thought about anything in his life for more than three minutes" (71).

No less than Sadlier's Henry, Egan's Cornelius is ashamed of his Irishness. He "despised" his mother's "'Irish' way of thinking" (72), that is, her thinking that he ought to get a Catholic education. "It made him shiver to think that if he had gone to the parochial school, mostly attended by the sons of Irish people not yet Americanized, and taught by Irish Christian Brothers"—a jab at Egan's own college—"he might never have got rid of the Cork brogue" (72–73). On moving to WASP Philistra, moreover, he hangs a lawyer's shingle that reads "P. Cornelius Blake." Tongue firmly in cheek, the narrator explains that Cornelius "would have died rather than have done anything dishonest or acknowledged that his Christian name was Patrick" (74). In Sadlieresque fashion, Egan implies that Cornelius suffers from two shames in one: not only shame of the Irish background that produced the archetypal Irish first name but also shame of the Catholicism that compelled him to be named after a man known everywhere as a Catholic saint.

Cornelius encounters one Alice O'Brien in the home of Philistra's two prominent Presbyterian spinsters, Miss Catherwood and her sister Miss Tamar Ann. Alice is their niece, daughter of their sister, Rosalia, who had married an Irish "papist." Alice was raised Catholic to the disgust of her aunts. It is not a fact that much thrills the snobbish Alice either. Catholic upbringing has confined her to a class she despises. One day she observes congregants leaving after vespers at her parish church, St. Bridget's, and cries out: "Look at them! Servant-girls and factory-hands! Look at the clothes of the men and the bonnets of the women! And yet we are of those people; we can't escape them. I am a Catholic; I have stuck fast to the church in spite of all the jeers" (79). Alice will not stick fast for long.

Cornelius is not a very good Catholic either, so Alice seems a good match for him. She is impecunious, however, and cannot hope to acquire money because her Catholicism prevents her from advancing as a teacher. To secure promotion and a financially sound future with her fiancé—"Neil," as she calls Cornelius—Alice converts to Protestantism. Her fiancé, meanwhile, accepts the support of Philistra grandee Sherwood Archer and joins the "masons," an organization forbidden to Catholics. Standing for office, Cornelius gives insincere voice to "Irish nationalist" slogans to secure the Irish vote for the WASP establishment. "We'll let you work that racket!" Archer enthuses (86). In the end, Archer works a racket on Cornelius, one that puts him in hospital for seven weeks.

It is at this juncture that the stories of Henry and Cornelius Blake diverge. Cornelius genuinely embraces Catholicism following his near-death experience. Even so, all does not go well. Alice tells Cornelius that she cannot undo her own apostasy. "I can't go back Neil," she tells him, "nobody can go out of hell—out of hell!" (92). With that, Alice collapses and dies—in the very

vestibule of St. Bridget's, yet too distant to be saved by a priest. The date is August 15, a Holy Day of Obligation that celebrates the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven. It is a journey Alice will not be taking. From the church interior may be heard the strains of St. Thomas Aquinas's "Pange Lingua." Two lines from the hymn appear at story's end, "*Praestet fides supplementum/Sensuum defectui*" (83), which mean, roughly, "faith supplies what the senses cannot." The Catholic religion is not to be trifled with.

This single story covers concerns that run through Egan's œuvre. There is evidence of the Catholic schools issue and state schooling's harm to second-generation Irish Americans. The ease with which politicians manipulate Irish voters through insincere expressions of Irish nationalism is exposed. Warranting further concern are the dangers of apostasy and, to a lesser extent, of lax religious practices. Mixed marriages and materialism likewise carry peril. Repentance, the reader is reminded, can come too late.

As would be expected of an Irish Catholic writer in the late 1800s, Egan often voiced concern over intemperance. "The Jaws of Death," another story published in *The Life around Us*, tells of Nelly O'Connor and the obviously alcoholic Pierce Toole. She tells her skeptical parent that Pierce "has a good heart in spite of the whisky, and, father, I'll make him take the pledge" (383). Pierce manages to keep the pledge long enough for Father Kevan to marry the couple. Then Nelly's father dies on the day their child is born. Pierce attends to his religious duties with increasing irregularity, "and in consequence, his power of resisting temptation became weaker. He attended Mass, but merely from the force of habit" (386). As Pierce returns to the drink, the family is forced out of their home and into the "suburbs"—a drafty, rat-infested barn. One cold Christmas Eve, Nelly, gripped by a lethal fever, prays that the Virgin Mother will send a priest for her and her dying child. Miraculously, a priest's carriage breaks down nearby, and he and his sexton, Mick, seek shelter in the barn where Nelly and child lay suffering. In an inversion of the Nativity scene, they bear witness to the death of the mother and child. Guilt-ridden and grief-stricken, the father throws himself at the priest's feet and, finally, reforms. In the end Pierce—it is he who is saved from the titular jaws of death—recites the story's obvious moral: " 'Promise of pledge,' he often repeats, when he has told his story, 'is nothing without God's help. The drink is not bad. God made it. It's the forgetting of God that makes us misuse it. Mind that, boys' " (389).

Egan's fiction is keen to connect the ascent of Catholicism with the decline in undesired traits of Irishness—a connection that delineates the second from the first Famine generation of writers.[42] Exemplary of this connection are *The Disappearance of John Longworthy* (1890) and *The Wiles of Sexton Maginnis* (1909).

The eponymous protagonist of *Disappearance of John Longworthy* is a wealthy and prominent writer on "social questions" who disguises himself as a photographer to observe New York's tenements firsthand (3). His friend, Esther Galligan, a middle-class, Irish American Catholic, aids him in this task.

The novel contains many themes standard to this genre, including that of alcoholism and its destructive power on the family. Included as well is the familiar, sentimental death scene: the Virgin Mary again makes an appearance while an unfortunate but good character—in this case, little Rose O'Connor—dies in peace in the presence of a priest. This death invites yet another convention of the genre, conversion.[43] Longworthy becomes a Catholic and, as again is typical, marries into his now-true faith; in this instance, John marries Esther. Egan contrasts the squalor of the working-class slum where O'Connor perishes with the gentility of Galligan's middle-class life. "There is a realistic description of both subcultures," Fanning notes, "but always in the didactic service of deploring slum life and presenting bourgeois respectability as an unequivocal goal" (*Irish Voice* 203). The slum dwellers Egan describes are mostly Irish immigrants. The middle-class Irish are immigrants' American-born offspring, that is, those offspring who cultivated qualities like hard work and honest piety as means to escape the poverty. Most of the Irish seem to lack these means. Yet they are qualities that the newly converted Longworthy possesses multifold: for leisure, he would rather listen to music with a Galligan woman than drink sherry with her brother, a Galligan man. Longworthy is, as McDannell notes, one of Father O'Reilly's true men[44] ("True Men" 28).

All Egan's prejudices against the poor, working-class Irish immigrant come together in the assemblage of stereotypes that fills *The Wiles of Sexton Maginnis*. The novel is composed of a number of short stories, each centering on Mr. Lewis "Sexton" Maginnis, a sly, ill-educated, lying racist from County Kerry—in short, a classic stage Irishman. Originally published between 1902 and 1909 in an establishment journal, *Century Magazine*, the stories no doubt delighted their WASPish readers. "To Theodore Roosevelt," the dedication reads, "A Man of Letters in Love with Life." Egan had every reason to be thankful: in 1907, the twenty-sixth US president had appointed him the US ambassador to Denmark (Loeber 432).[45]

Most of the action in *Sexton Maginnis* takes place in Bracton, an industrial suburb of Baltimore. Reflective of immigration patterns, the town's St. Kevin's parish is composed mainly of two warring ethnic factions, the Italians and the Irish. Into the fray the Church sends Father Stephen Weatherill Blodgett, erudite scion of old-line Anglo-Saxon stock and a convert to Catholicism. Maginnis, who has finagled his way into the sexton's job, agrees to be the new priest's eyes and ears. Conflict arises when Maginnis is told to place on the mantelpiece of Blodgett's house a prized sculpture, the "Flying Mercury." The narrator appears smitten; the sculpture "seemed ready to float over the white lilacs, impelled by the motive of Spring" (43). Not so impressed is Mrs. Magee, Maginnis's termagant mother-in-law, cast as an archetype of Bracton's unassimilated and racist Irish working class. Mrs. Magee's ancestry is compared with that of a "big, raw-boned" blacksmith, whose "ancestors were eating potato-skins and all in darkest Donegal" (214). Even as Egan's descriptions denigrate them, these Irish sling slurs like "pagan Chinee," "nagur," "Eye-tal-ian," and "Dago" as pejorative

accents to their intolerant sentiments. Thus does Mrs. Magee erupt as she turns away from the new cleric's sculpture: "A haythen god stone cut by the Eye-tal-ians. It's this way the Dagos do be corruptin' the innocent public. And he has put it where Father Dooner used to have St. Patrick" (44). Maginnis relays a complaint about Blodgett's ministry to Italian parishioners whom his Irish predecessor had ignored; however, he conceals his mother-in-law as its source. Thus he reports that a "Miss Violet Kingswood" (the name a figment of Maginnis's imagination) has said of Blodgett: "If he goes on as he does with the furrigners, he'll be encouragin' the nagurs next, and we will have missy-genation among us" (56). The Kingswood/Maginnis comment points to then-current anxieties about racial intermixing, a topic to be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

The new priest proves more than able to handle these small-minded Irish. An icon of the virtues of his class, good Father Blodgett is stoic in the face of insults, ignorance, and racism. Adopting a pragmatic approach akin to that of the accommodationist author-priest, Bernard J. O'Reilly, Blodgett manages to bring the Italians and the Irish together. Even Maginnis allows that the priest is "not bad for a man born in this country . . . and a convert at that" (55). Fanning makes the interesting observation that Egan's heroes, weathers-ill Blodgett and the long-worthy Longworthy, are both converts born into old Anglo-Saxon families. The characterization evinces Anglophilia.[46] Admiration of things English was a trait that Egan shared with his peers, Irish Americans who aspired to the upper class.[47]

These artifacts of literature endorse a more catholic, less tribal—more American—Catholic Church, primed to succeed within the structures of the state. Of Egan's generation, Jay Dolan surmises: "Those who had been born in the United States, chiefly the Irish middle class, incorporated an American domestic ideology into their religious culture. Neither completely European nor totally American, they blended the two religious cultures into an expression of religion that suited their conception of themselves" (*In Search* 89). These late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Irish Catholics saw themselves as persons of fine taste, impeccable manners, and sharp intellect. Writers—Egan and O'Reilly in particular—assured them that membership in America's upper strata lay within their reach as long as they had the proper upbringing, stayed true to family and faith, and abandoned all traces of the Famine Irish stereotype. In doing so these writers not only reinforced the Catholic Church's promotion of the patriarchal family structure but also the idea of the family structure as a microcosm of state structure, thus performing the crucial ideological function of naturalizing both.

Notes

1. This news item appears on the back page of the *Alta*'s December 9, 1890, edition.
2. From 1861 to 1870, 21.1 percent of Irish emigrants were females between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. Males in the same age group composed 23.3 percent so that 44.4 percent of all emigrants were fifteen to twenty-four years old.

In the decade spanning 1891 to 1900, the portions were even greater: females in the same age bracket had risen to 35.4 percent of total Irish emigration, whereas males accounted for 24.5 percent (K. Miller, *Emigrants* 352–53; 581–82). The statistics suggest that Famine refugee families with children or elderly members went to England rather than undertake the expensive and hazardous transatlantic journey. America held the greatest attraction for young, single, Irish people (Diner 33).

3. Relatedly, Robert E. Kennedy's research shows that from 1871 until the end of the nineteenth century, the emigration of women from Ireland was actually higher, if only slightly, than that of men (78).
4. "For ethnic groups like the Jews," Timothy Meagher writes, "families migrated, so husbands wives and young daughters and sons came to the United States together as a unit. . . . Scandinavian immigrants included more single women than many other immigrant groups, but the proportion of single women was not as high among Swedes or Norwegians as it was among the Irish" (*Columbia* 174).
5. Miller, Doyle, and Kelleher urge caution in assuming that Irish women were better off pre-Famine. The low rates of female immigration prior to the Famine may be due to the fact that Irish society "was a *more* repressively patriarchal and male-dominated society than it later became" (47, original emphasis).
6. The continued cultural salience of this dilemma is evident in *The Immigrant*, an acclaimed 2013 film that tells the story of a Polish woman who is forced into prostitution following her immigration to the United States in 1921.
7. The concept forms the core of the title of two nonfiction manuals discussed later in this chapter: *The Mirror of True Womanhood* (1877) and *True Men As We Need Them* (1878), both by Father Bernard J. O'Reilly, whose work in the fever sheds of Quebec and his significance to the *Gerard Keegan's Famine Diary* is considered in Ch. 1.
8. See Althusser's *Lenin and Philosophy* (85–126).
9. See Ch. 7. How these Irish women workers saw themselves, or their employers for that matter, long eluded scholars' attention. Thankfully, recent archival work has begun to address this anomaly. See Aífe Murray's *Maid as Muse*, as well as Margaret Lynch-Brennan's *The Irish Bridget*, both published in 2009.
10. McCorry, who wrote under the pseudonym of Shandy McSherry as well as Con O'Leary, was born in the North of Ireland. Following a stint as editor of the *Glasgow Free Press* in Scotland, he immigrated to the United States in 1869. He lived in Boston at first, possibly working for the publisher Patrick Donahoe, and edited the city's *Catholic World* newspaper. He moved to New York City in the early 1870s, where he edited the official newspaper of the Fenian Brotherhood, the *Irish People*, and wrote poetry and prose for the *Catholic World*. His date and place of death, like those of his birth, are unknown (Loeber 809).
11. Fanning reports that *Bessy Conway* enjoyed six US editions (*Irish Voice* 134).
12. On the Hughes-Sadlier challenge to notions that capitalism depended on Protestantism, see Ch. 3.
13. See Introduction and Ch. 2.
14. For more on the mid-1800s women's movement, see also Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship*, Ch. 6, and Marrilley, Chs. 2 and 3.
15. In the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, there were exceptions, women of Irish heritage who campaigned fearlessly for feminist causes. One was a woman who is profiled in Ch. 7 of this volume, Kate Kennedy; another, also profiled in Ch. 7, was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Still others included Lucy Burns and Margaret Sanger. See Lunardini (14–16) and Sanger (11–12).
16. For accounts of these crossings, see Ch. 1.
17. William Grattan-Flood writes of this saint: "Born in 451 or 452 of princely ancestors at Faughart, near Dundalk, County Louth; d. February 1, 525, at

Kildare. Refusing many good offers of marriage, she became a nun and received the veil from St. Macaille. With seven other virgins she settled for a time at the foot of Croghan Hill, but removed thence to Druin Criadh, in the plains of Magh Life, where under a large oak tree she erected her subsequently famous Convent of Cill-Dara, that is, 'the church of the oak' (now Kildare), in the present county of that name" (n.p.).

18. On the relation of the manual's title and philosophy to larger developments in nineteenth-century America, see Ch. 6.
19. For more biographical information, see Thomas Meehan's "Bernard O'Reilly."
20. The diary, King's research, and its reference to the quarantine are discussed in Ch. 1.
21. On the Irish Brigade, see Ch. 2 of this volume.
22. On this publishing house, upon which Pope Leo XIII in 1895 bestowed the honorary title "Publisher to the Holy Apostolic See," see Pallen and Wynne, *The New Catholic Dictionary* (527).
23. See K. Miller, *Emigrants* (352–53, 581, Table 12).
24. On ultramontanism, see the introduction and Ch. 2 of this book.
25. For an extended discussion of *Blakes and Flanagans*, see Ch. 3.
26. For depictions of this imaginary, see Ch. 6.
27. On these characterizations, see the discussion of *Blakes and Flanagans* in Ch. 3 and that of *Bessy Conway* earlier in this chapter.
28. See Rosenzweig's *Eight Hours for What We Will* and Stivers's *Hair of the Dog*.
29. See Thomas Nast, "The Day We Celebrate," *Harper's Weekly*, 1867, *available at* http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/970.htm. Accessed 07/23/14.
30. Among the prominent Protestants who applauded Mathew's temperance efforts was Frederick Douglass, a teetotaler who often found fault with Irish Catholic drinking habits. See Ch. 3.
31. For more on Father McGivney, see Brinkley and Fenster.
32. For details of McCloskey's career as New York's top prelate, see Farley's *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*.
33. See Ch. 9 of *True Men*.
34. See the discussion of *Blakes and Flanagans* in Ch. 3.
35. In so doing, O'Reilly's 1878 manual foreshadows the exhortation that Cardinal James Gibbons, the Baltimore-born archbishop of that same city, would deliver to "Christian women" in 1894: "[W]hen your husbands and sons turn to you in the evening after buffeting with the waves of the world, let them find in your homes a haven of rest. Do not pour into the bleeding wounds of their hearts the gall of bitter words, but rather the oil of gladness and consolation" (qtd in McDannell, "True Men" 28).
36. It is no coincidence that around this time the American Catholic Church, following the practice of the post-Famine devotional revolution in Ireland, promoted both the Sacred Heart and the Blessed Virgin Mary as the two icons to be displayed in every Catholic home (McDannell, "True Men" 21). Irish folk customs had to be replaced by American Catholic practice.
37. This literary tradition would encounter backlash from subsequent writers of Irish heritage. Perhaps most notable is James T. Farrell (1904–1979), who grew up in a "lower middle-class, Irish-American Catholic, environment" on Chicago's South Side. See Farrell; see also Eric Pace, "James T. Farrell, Realistic Novelist, Dies," *The New York Times*, Aug. 23, 1979, p. A1. A Trotskyist, Farrell was active in US leftist politics. His prodigious literary output included *Studs Lonigan: A Trilogy*. These three 1930s novels employed styles of naturalism and realism, including sexually explicit scenes that led to the subjection of his work, like that of James Joyce, to prosecution, and eventual acquittal, for obscenity. The styles

served well to present Farrell's critiques of the American Catholic Church and American capitalist policies.

38. The exact number of books that Egan wrote is not known. He used several pseudonyms, and is believed to have written pulp-fiction novels anonymously. Much of the information on Egan in this section comes from Fanning's *Irish Voice*, Ch. 7. See also Loeber (432–33).
39. Besides Egan, the editorial board, chaired by Justin McCarthy, M. P., included luminaries such as Douglas Hyde, Lady Gregory, George Russell ("A.E."), John Redmond M. P., and Standish O'Grady.
40. See Deane, ed.
41. In his memoir, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, Egan confesses to a hatred of Philistinism (60).
42. See Fanning, *Irish Voice* (209).
43. The conversion theme was a prominent feature of nineteenth-century writing with a religious message. As discussed in Ch. 3, in the early 1800s, Irish American writers, including Archbishop John Hughes and Father Hugh Quigley, presented scenes of Protestant-to-Catholic conversion to retaliate against Protestant literature that worked in the opposite direction. The conversion trope persisted throughout the century; an example in between the early writings and those of Maurice Egan is Peter McCorry's *Mount Benedict, or The Violated Tomb. A Tale of the Charlestown Convent* (1871). *Mount Benedict* takes as its main subject the 1834 burning of the Ursuline convent in Boston, discussed in Ch. 5. It also records the trials and tribulations of Kate Crolly, a servant in the Protestant home of the Mortons. Kate survives Protestant proselytizing, becomes a nun, and persuades Cecelia Morton, the young lady of the house, to convert to Catholicism.
44. The same may be said of the title character in Egan's 1896 novel, *The Vocation of Edward Conway*. On a visit home, Edward—a devout Catholic and the cultured, Georgetown-educated son of an Irish immigrant—is shocked to learn that his cousins are Episcopalians. Their Catholic father, Edward's uncle, had agreed his children would be brought up in his wife's Protestant faith. There follows another sickbed scene, another priest to the rescue, and more conversions than can be counted on one hand. The key to this novel, writes Fanning, is that "Edward represents the thoroughly assimilated, cultured and sophisticated, upper-middle class Irish American Catholic. . . . He neither asserts nor denies his Irishness, but it is as a Catholic that he functions as Egan's protagonist" (*Irish Voice* 208). In this, Edward Conway too is a true man.
45. Egan remained in the post until 1917, serving under Presidents William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. The appointment of Egan to be US ambassador to Copenhagen, of all places, may have been in part an inside joke between Egan and his original benefactor, President Theodore Roosevelt. Egan regarded himself a Shakespearean scholar and had just published a collection entitled *The Ghost in Hamlet and Other Essays in Comparative Literature* (1906). Copenhagen might have appeared the perfect place for Teddy Roosevelt to send the prince of Denmark expert. Significantly, the appointment was Egan's reward for his role as an unofficial US ambassador to the Catholic hierarchy in regard to Church-state relations in the Philippines and other countries. He was also actively involved in American expansionist policies, supervising the sale to the US of the Danish West Indies (the Virgin Islands) in 1917. For more details on this, see his memoir, *Recollections of a Happy Life*. See also Shannon (328).
46. It also may represent a nod to notable converts from Protestantism, such as Orestes Brownson and Mother Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, as well as her half-nephew, Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley. See Ch. 2 and Ch. 3 of this volume.

47. An avatar of this generation's lace-curtain Irishman is Joseph P. Kennedy, born in Boston in 1888, the grandson of Famine Irish immigrants. Young Kennedy spurned a seat at Catholic Boston College in favor of Harvard and kept quiet about his Irish background as he socialized with elites at that centuries-old bastion of American Protestantism. He became fabulously wealthy and served in numerous positions as a high-ranking US official. In 1938 Kennedy—by then the father of future President John F. Kennedy—was appointed US ambassador to Britain's Court of St. James's. See http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ug03/omara-alwala/jpkennedy.html.

    Also to be noted is the Famine-era Irish ancestry of a recent president of the United States—a man with a much more modern and complex ancestry—Barack Obama. See Smolenyak.

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5 Gender Laundering Irish Women and Chinese Men in San Francisco

An unprecedented wedding seems to have been the talk of San Francisco in the spring of 1875.[1] It was reported that Father Patrick "Paddy" Powers, of St. Patrick's Church, had joined in holy matrimony one Mary Mahoney, "a pretty and young Irish girl," and Loo Foh, "the well-known Chinese merchant" said to have become a Christian and sought US citizenship a year earlier. The priest's reported congratulations made direct reference to Chinese immigrants:

> They are an inferior race, and yet very few of them are smart enough to see this. When I see an intelligent Chinaman, like Loo Foh, who perceives his inferior condition, and who is anxious to raise himself to a higher level on which you and I, my brethren, stand, I hold out my hand and bid him welcome. If all Chinamen would turn Catholic, marry and settle down, I for one have no objection to their coming.

In fact, the nuptials may never have occurred. The account—presented as a report of a report, an account of an item purportedly published two weeks earlier in an unidentified "Newsletter"—well may be spurious. It appears in an edition of *Thistleton's Jolly Giant*, aptly described by one historian of US magazines as "a bitter satirist of Catholicism and the Chinese" (Mott 266). Launched in 1873 by Colonel George Thistleton, a veteran of the Mexican War, the periodical would loom large for the next decade as "a San Francisco monstrosity" (Mott 266).[2] *Jolly Giant*'s items often were "illustrated by poor woodcuts" (267 n.223), and as Figure 5.1 demonstrates, this item is no exception. Irrespective of its veracity, the most interesting feature of the crudely drawn cartoon is its portrayal of the participants. Five figures cluster near a church altar, over which statues of saints stand watch. Grimacing in the background is an onlooker. He may be "the distant relative of the fair bride," the man who reportedly attended, even though the bride's own father did not show up ("Powers").

A seemingly unshaven Father Powers frowns, too, despite his quoted "happy remarks." The smiling groom wears Western garb—described in the news item as "a black cloth evening suit, with white kid gloves"—yet he

Figure 5.1 "The Marriage of Loo Foh to Miss Mahoney in St. Patrick's Catholic Church." Page 320 of *Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant*, February 12, 1876.

Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

and his Chinese male attendant are set apart from the rest not only by a "pigtail" atop their heads but also by skeletal features ("Powers"). Both appear as barely live creatures. Miss Mahoney is a stark contrast. Although rather glum faced, she is the "pretty and young Irish girl" of the news item, "a spray of orange blossoms in her hair" ("Powers"). Indeed, her picture is prettier: whereas the writer dresses her "very plainly in a dark grey traveling suit" ("Powers"), the artist places her in a formal, white gown, ruffles and bustle adorning its full length.

The image and account of this "unusual marriage ceremony" ("Powers") evoke many of the themes to be explored in this chapter. Ethnic prejudices are evident in the racialized depictions of the barely human groom's side and the more humanly rendered bride's side. "This is the first wedding on record in our city of a white person and a Chinese" ("Powers"), the report declares, thus bestowing on Miss Mahoney the privilege of whiteness. It is a privilege denied the groom even by the satirically kind words the reporter puts into the mouth of Father Powers, himself a frequent target of *Jolly Giant*'s attacks. Although the Irish-named priest reportedly has permitted "an intelligent Chinaman" who had sought religious and national assimilation to "marry and settle down," Powers's remarks make clear that he still considers the convert part of an "inferior race." Though reprehensible today, the view then was radical and often illegal. Legislation enacted soon after this report barred Chinese from attaining the US citizenship for which Loo Foh is said to have applied.[3] Already in effect, *Jolly Giant* informs, were California laws subjecting persons like Father Powers to a $300 fine for performing "the union of white and colored people" ("Powers"). The report then poses the pivotal question: "whether Miss Mahoney is white, and Loo Foh colored or not" ("Powers").

Insinuations such as this, that the privilege of whiteness could be withdrawn, were not uncommon in WASP-owned periodicals of the era. An example is the 1876 *Harper's Weekly* cover reproduced as Figure 1.3, which balanced the Irish and African Americans and suggested neither should be allowed to vote. It was an equation that no doubt made many Irish persons anxious, as did the fears of some Irish that racial intermixing would alter their legally ascribed "white" status. Reflecting such anxieties is the Irish character in a 1909 Maurice Francis Egan novel who frets that a different priest's liberal ways might lead to "missy-genation among us" (Egan, *Sexton* 56).[4] That character refers precisely to mixing with African Americans, a preoccupation in the mid-Atlantic region, where the Egan novel transpires; out West, bigots fixed concern on immigrants from China.

Jolly Giant's San Francisco brand of hostility to miscegenation may explain its depiction of Miss Mahoney as refined, quite the opposite of Loo Foh. The contrast points to an ugly yet familiar theme: stereotype charged Chinese men with sexually perverse intentions toward white women. The allegation applied not only to intermarriage but also to domestic service. As

Robert G. Lee puts it: "The presence of the Chinese male disrupts the fragile balances between sexes within the household, both in the realm of sexuality and in the realm of labor" (104).

Whereas previous chapters examined literature that contributed to the cultural imaginary of the nineteenth-century US racial state, this chapter looks at other artifacts, such as cartoons and lampoons in illustrated periodicals and lyrics and plays in popular theaters. In these, fantasy images swirled about both the Chinese male and the Irish female. The Chinese male was cast as a contradiction—sometimes as a threat to white women yet other times as effeminate, neutered, and so less threatening. The converse held for the Irish woman. Elegants like Miss Mahoney seldom made an entrance in theaters or in magazines like *Jolly Giant*. This was especially true in the decades immediately following the Irish Famine; in those years, popular culture typically presented the Irish female as a working woman, a hard laborer often in direct economic competition with the Chinese man. Given the stock name "Bridget" or "Norah," she often appeared as coarse and ill spoken, as masculine as her complement, "Pat" or "Mike." This Irish woman's Green Atlantic journey toward acceptance in America was more complex than that of her partner, for she strived not only for cultural as well as legal "whiteness" but also for cultural as well as biological "womanness." On both counts, her journey often intersected with—succeeded at the expense of—the Yellow Pacific journey of the Chinese man.[5] The current chapter examines this phenomenon. It first sketches overall relations between the Irish and Chinese in the nineteenth century and then outlines the sexual and gender dynamics of the competition between Irish women and Chinese men. The story plays out primarily in San Francisco, in cartoons, in lyrics, and on stage.

Part of the Problem, Part of the Solution

In San Francisco "during the 1850s," James P. Walsh writes, "everyone was uprooted, Americans and foreigners alike" ("Irish in Early San Fran." 21). Luring the Irish, Chinese, and indeed persons of every imaginable ethnicity to California was the discovery of gold in 1848. A folk ballad of the time captured the pull on Irish laborers:

> So, Good Bye Murshin Durkin
> I'm sick and tired of workin'
> No more I'll dig the praties
> and no longer I'll be fooled
> But as sure my name is Carney
> I'll be off to Californy
> And instead of digging praties
> I'll be digging lumps of gold.
> (O'Lochlainn 72)

Persons of Irish heritage tended to come not from Ireland but rather from other way stations in their Famine emigration.[6] At first the eastern United States and Australasia contributed equally to the influx, but after gold was discovered in New South Wales, America's Eastern cities soon became the biggest source of the Irish people who would make San Francisco their home (Burchell 34).[7]

Also eager to make fortunes in California—known to them as "'Jinshan' (meaning 'Gold Mountain' or 'Country of Gold')" (Chen 37)[8]—were prospectors from South China's Pearl River Delta. The delta city of Canton, or Guangzhou, had enjoyed commercial exchanges with San Francisco, and when news of the gold strike arrived, many in the delta already possessed the economic resources and maritime experience necessary to journey across the Pacific.[9] The stream of Chinese was small but steady. In San Francisco, it grew from 8 percent, or 12,022 persons, in 1870 to 9.3 percent, or 21,745 persons, in 1880 (Shumsky 81).[10] This increase coincided with rapid growth among all segments of San Francisco's population. Wages declined as the labor pool expanded. US-born workers came to resent the foreign born, and workers belonging to foreign-born ethnic groups came to resent one another.

Stoking interethnic resentments was the elites' overt animosity. "Anti-Catholic and anti-Irish feeling seethed" among white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in 1850s San Francisco, writes historian Kevin Starr (*Americans* 94). "Irish immigrants from Australia and New York were branded wholesale as a criminal class"; to fight growing Irish political influence, "Yankees and Southerners put aside their quarrels, including the slavery issue" (*Americans* 94). As for the Chinese, early welcomes soon turned sour. In 1850 the editor of *Alta California*, the state's first daily newspaper, had written that the Chinese were "very useful, quiet, good citizens . . . deserving respect of all" (qtd in Nee 33). In less than a decade, however, a different trope took over. Keith Aoki writes: "The Yellow Peril bifurcated fears of white Americans, including: (i) fears of unfair economic competition; and (ii) fears of mongrelization via miscegenation. From this paranoia, the 'Yellow Peril' stereotype embodied Asians as a threat to Western civilization in general, and to the U.S. specifically" (908 n.34).[11] In cultural artifacts produced by members of the dominant class, the perception of a dual threat surfaced in loathsome racializations.

An example is Figure 5.2, a lithograph published in San Francisco sometime in the 1860s. All three panels are grounded upon a map of the Bay Area, over which are suspended the torso and legs of Uncle Sam, the striped-trousers caricature signifying the United States. Inside the ugly maw of a high-hatted, leprechaun-like Irishman is Sam's head. Sam's boots, meanwhile, are being consumed by a shut-eyed man who is bald except for the braided queue jutting away from his head. He wears traditional Chinese clothes and the wide-brimmed straw hat of the "coolie," a then-current reference to Asian workers presumed to be "a coerced and submissive labor force."[12]

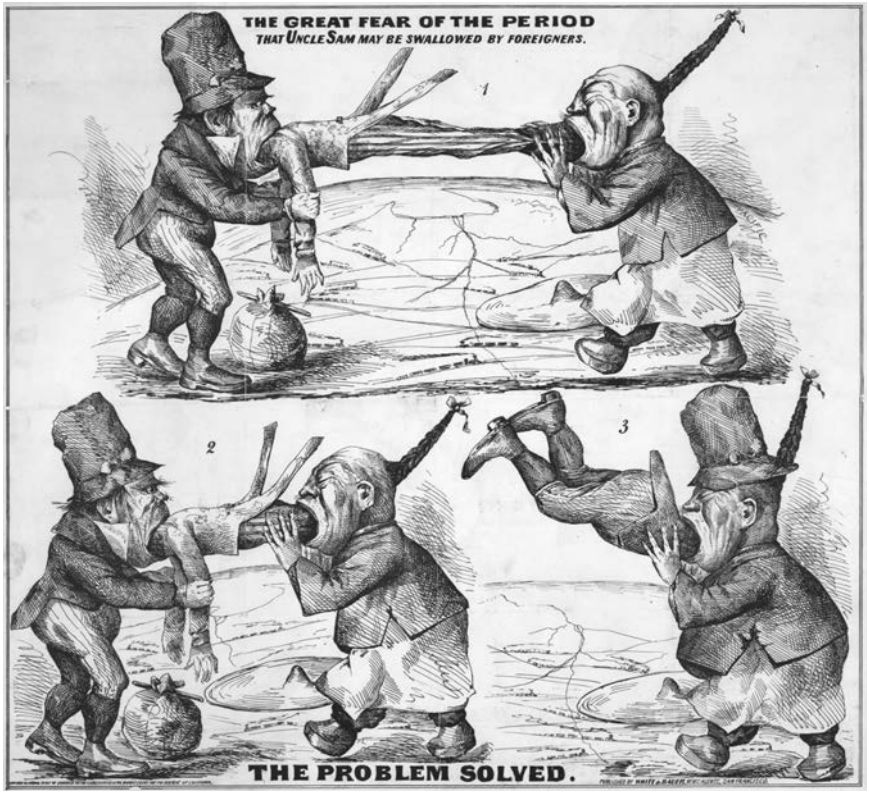

Figure 5.2 "The Great Fear of the Period." Lithograph by White & Bauer, San Francisco, made between 1860 and 1869.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

"The great fear of the period," this 1860s cartoon informs, is "that Uncle Sam may be swallowed by foreigners." The first panel thus posits the Irish as a menace on par with the Chinese. This equating alone would have piqued the assimilationist Irish immigrant, yet the cartoon as a whole goes even further to provoke Irish anxiety. By the third panel the Chinese stereotype, having finished with Sam, devours the Irish stereotype, even donning the latter's high hat. "The Problem Solved," the caption reads. The result serves as a fitting metaphor for the signal aspect of Irish-Chinese relations in San Francisco during this period—the fierce rivalry for jobs, along with Irish fears that the Chinese would win the contest.[13]

Numerous factors weighed in favor of the Irish, however. Walsh writes that the Irish who came to San Francisco "enjoyed the distinct advantage of having . . . been urban, a characteristic not shared by other Americans"

("Irish in Early San Fran." 21). The Irish were, of course, classified as white by law.[14] They had greater familiarity with the English language. Their religion, Roman Catholicism, had roots in California that dated to Spanish colonization.[15] The Catholic religion of the Irish remained a target of frequent attacks; still, in the eyes of many Protestants it was preferable to the non-Christian beliefs of most Chinese immigrants. R. A. Burchell thus writes: "the effect and force of nativism were much blunted in the spread of Anglo-American culture to the Pacific coast" (14).

Evidence of diverging attitudes about the Irish and the Chinese appears an edition of *The Wasp*, a San Francisco-based rival of *Jolly Giant* that was founded in 1875. The weekly *Wasp* enjoyed popularity for more than a decade, publishing noted writers like Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and Ambrose Bierce early on. In the words of one chronicler: "It stung busily here, there, and everywhere" (Mott 57).[16] An 1881 issue of *The Wasp* includes a full-color cartoon, "Immigration East and West," in a two-page spread that bespeaks the subject's importance to the editors (see Figure 5.3). A couplet at the bottom sums up the cartoon's sentiment: "Westward, the course of empire takes its way. Eastward, the march of national decay." Representing such "decay" on the page marked "West" is "Asia," a towering, pigtailed snake-dragon lettered with slogans such as "Chinese Immigration," "Ruin to White Labor," "Beneficial to Corporations and Monopolies," "Small Pox," and "Immorality." Its huge hands move to seize the despairing Lady Liberty

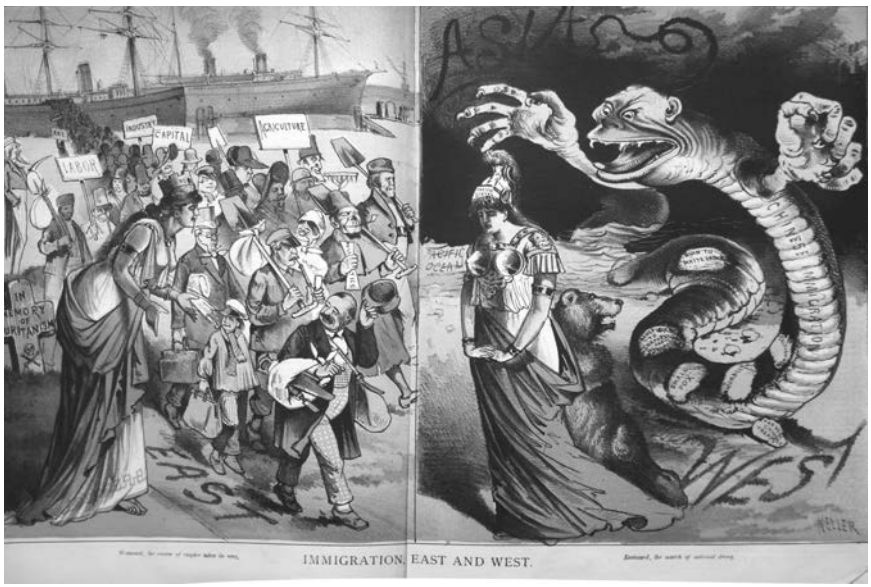

Figure 5.3 "Immigration East and West." Pages 136–37 of *The Wasp*, August 26, 1881. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

lookalike, clad in armor and labeled "Pacific States." All that protects her is a snarling but small California bear.

Strikingly different is the opposite page, named "East." A smiling and regal Liberty labeled "NY" welcomes boatloads of immigrants armed with shovels, rakes, moneybags, bundles on sticks, and signs that read "Labor," "Industry," Capital," and "Agriculture." Uncle Sam looks on approvingly. A tombstone stands "In Memory of Puritanism," an apparent reference to the waning influence of Protestantism. The cartoon recognizes that cultural differences among the new arrivals will alter the nature of American nationality yet indicates this is a price the state is willing to pay to ensure that America remains in "white" hands. For nearly all the immigrants depicted are Europeans from ethnic groups deemed white—the Atlantic white flight that marches in unity against the Pacific's supposed Yellow Peril.

Only one other female appears in the cartoon. It is Bridget. Her broad face lacks every fine line the artist has bestowed upon the Liberties. Striding beside her is Pat, clay pipe in mouth, his simian expression displaying the quiet confidence of one who has truly arrived. This captures the Irish American paradox perfectly: Bridget and Pat are "white" according to the state and "not quite"[17] according to the cultural imaginary. Pat clutches his one-word letter of recommendation, "Politics." He seems destined, like many Irish men, to enlist in the state's ideological and repressive apparatuses. At least at the outset, Bridget is likely to inhabit a more private sphere.

Cast as a Domestic, "Bridget" Makes Her Début

The Irish woman immigrant often entered domestic service on arrival in America. In making this generalization, it is advisable to heed a cautionary note sounded by Kerby A. Miller, David N. Doyle, and Patricia Kelleher. "[N]o single model or interpretation can apply to all female emigrants from Ireland, either before or after the Great Famine," they write, adding: "Arguably, the ultimate determinants of gender roles and relationships are sexual divisions of labor, which in turn vary greatly among different socio-economic classes and cultures" (44). Thus they criticize works by historians who

> inadvertently homogenized the lives and attitudes of the daughters of commercial farmers in south Leinster, landless laborers in north Munster, mill workers in east Ulster, and Irish-speaking peasants in west Connaught—thereby obscuring these and other crucial distinctions which governed relationships and shaped outlooks in a highly localistic, family-centered, and status-conscious society.
>
> (44)

Still, the evidence demonstrates that many Irish women immigrants found employment in the households of others. Even as Irish immigration tapered off toward the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Irish-born

domestic servants increased so that by 1900, an astonishing "54 percent of all Irish-born working women in the United States were servants, and a further 5.5 percent were laundresses" (Katzman 67).

Before the 1830s, African Americans had held most of the domestic positions, not only in the South but also in northern cities like New York (O'Leary 130). The African American woman servant had been a US institution, typically stereotyped as the stout, stalwart, common-sense "Mammy" familiar to all who have read or seen the Civil War epic *Gone with the Wind*.[18] Micki McElya argues persuasively that "deeply rooted in the American racial imagination," even today, is the constructed memory of Mammy as "the faithful slave," an African American who was "not angry over past and present injustices" and who did not consider "white people . . . complicit . . . in the injustices . . . of slavery, Jim Crow, and ongoing structural racism" (3). Despite that fantasy, US-born women of African ancestry in reality found themselves less wanted as household help as early as the mid-nineteenth-century. Replacing them were Irish women. The latter group accounted for three-quarters of all New York's female servants by 1850 so that "domestic servant" and "Irish woman" had become more or less synonyms (Lynch-Brennan, "Ubiquitous" 333). "Even in the South," writes Daniel Sutherland, "where traditions of Negro servitude held sway, the Irish were recognized as the typical white servant" (30). Transatlantic journeys thus made the Irish woman a factor in the calculus of race underlying the foundations of the United States.

Irish women who competed against African American women benefited from the employer's grudging assignment to them of a modicum of membership in the "white race." Law itself reinforced the classification. Men of Irish ancestry who attained US citizenship, by birth or naturalization, enjoyed suffrage without suffering the ghastly impediments that kept African American men out of the polling booth. Moreover, Irish women citizens, although not their African American counterparts, enjoyed full freedom to vote in the United States as soon as other "white" women did.

Equality under laws did not guarantee social equality, however. Domestic service in America represented a highly gendered, liminal, racial category through which the Irish passed, and like the African American passing that Nella Larsen[19] and others describe, this "passing" triggered a threat. Since the arrival in 1680 of the first Irish woman indentured servant, the Puritan and Anglican settlers who recruited from Ireland complained that the recruits were "temperamental foreigners, ill-suited for domestic service" (O'Leary 8, 111). The Irish woman was said to lack hygiene and manners, to lie and cheat, to be unable to cook or clean or have an intelligent thought. Her religion gave rise to additional rancor. "In hiring Catholic domestics," writes Faye Dudden, "employers confronted an increasingly heterogeneous society, one in which threatening foreigners could not even be excluded from 'sacred' home circles" (68). Fears of papish plots, spiritual contamination, and physical danger were common in northeastern Protestant households.

Yet in the end many employers had to overcome their qualms, for the simple reason that Irish women controlled the service market (O'Leary 113).

That market boomed in the late nineteenth century. America's middle class required even more servants than in the past, not only because it was expanding but also because the expected roles of middle-class women were changing. In the United States as in Britain, work that women once had performed at home—weaving, sewing, and the like—was moving out and on to the factory floor. Reluctance to take part in the workplace became a marker of the American middle-class woman. A new ideology arose to justify, even to celebrate, the separation of home life from productive labor. One name given this ideology was "true womanhood," a concept that the daughters of Famine Irish women would be encouraged to embrace.[20] The "cult of domesticity" and "feminine mystique" were other names for this ideology, which urged women to cultivate four essential traits: piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness.[21] At the extremes, the ideal woman thus produced was languid and self-concerned. She performed no outside labor for pay, and inside her home relied on paid laborers to shoulder the work of the household.

Often, that laborer was an Irish woman. In effect, the popular culture of the time renders her unwomanly as a rationalization for the fact that she is made to work. Whether, maid, cook, or launderer, she thus becomes beefy, blundering, and bossy—the butt of ridicule in newspaper columns, cartoons, songbooks, joke books, popular plays, and cheap and not-so-cheap novels.[22] Typical is Figure 5.4, an 1874 cover of San Francisco's *Jolly Giant*. The all-capitals caption conveys the artist-author's imagining of an Irish brogue and thus records a quarrel between Bid the laundrywoman, a masculinized hulk with a simianized scowl, and her ragged, weeping daughter.

"Ho Ho, Mether," the daughter cries, "wont ye buy me a new dhress for Chrishmus." Bid responds: "Howld yer tongue and nun if yer cryen fer a dhress, ye know I musht hurry up me washen to make a little money fer the prisht for Chrishmus." "Bid"—like "Biddy," a diminutive for "Bridget"—is scorned not only for her afeminacy but also for her priorities. The Yuletide needs of Bridget's "prisht," or priest, take precedence over those of her family. In this component of the stereotype could be found some accuracy, for male priests indeed depended on Bridget's labor: according to Janet Nolan, Irish working-class women were a major source of funding for the American Catholic Church in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[23]

Underscoring the economic benefits of domestic work, scholars like Nolan and Hasia Diner posit salutary reasons for the presence of Irish women in domestic service. Diner notes that such work assured a steady flow of income and provided housing and food, making it easier to save earnings (*Erin's* 84–94). She quotes a Massachusetts Bureau of Labor publication asserting that the domestic servant, when "compared with her sisters in the industrial field . . . certainly is well compensated" (89). Moreover, such work was unaffected by the layoffs, strikes, and recessions that plagued manufacturing work. Others, however, urge caution. Carole Turbin maintains that the huge

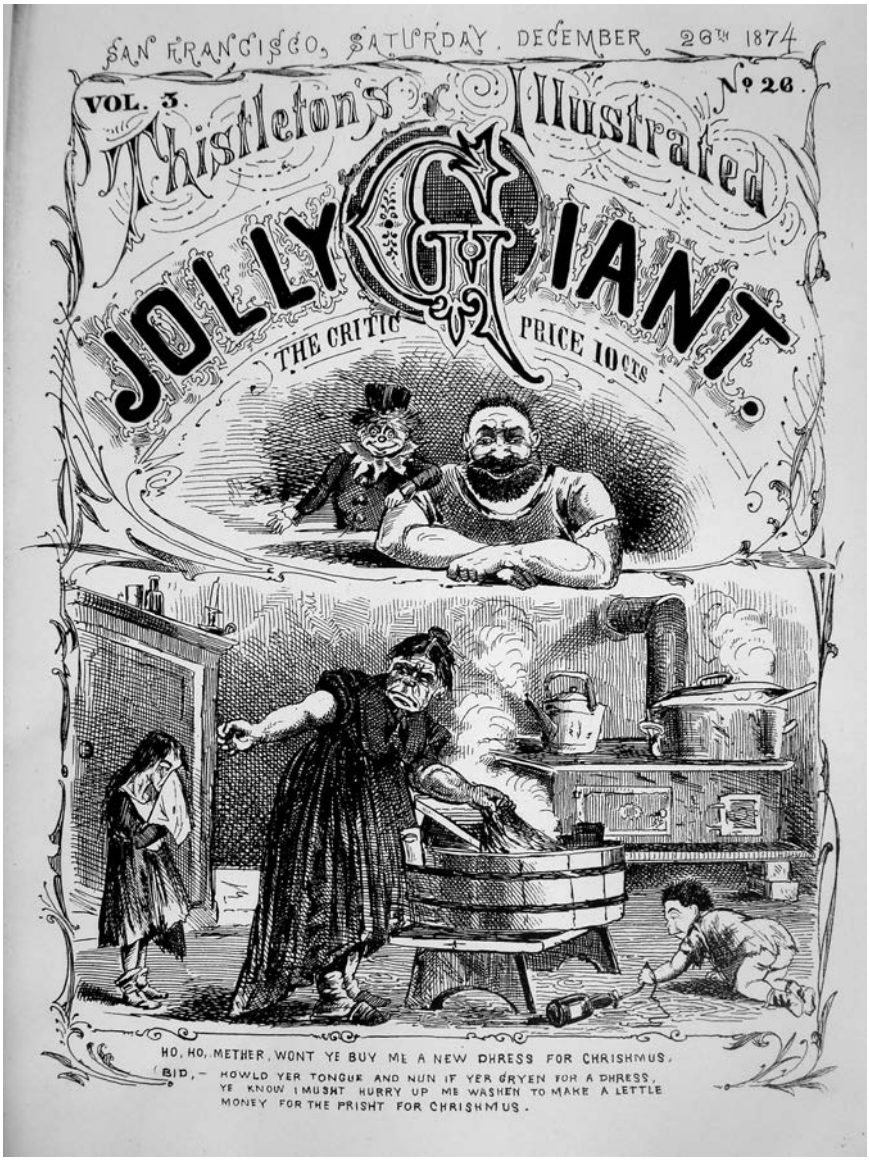
SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26th 1874
VOL. 3.
No 26.
Thistleton's Illustrated
JOLLY GIANT.
THE CRITIC
PRICE 10 CTS
HO, HO, METHER, WONT YE BUY ME A NEW DHRESS FOR CHRISHMUS.
BID,- HOWLD YER TONGUE AND NUN IF YER GRYEN FOR A DHRESS, YE KNOW I MUSHT HURRY UP ME WASHEN TO MAKE A LETTLE MONEY FOR THE PRISHT FOR CHRISHMUS.

Figure 5.4 Cover of *Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant*, December 26, 1874.
Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

numbers of Irish women in domestic service indicate not a desire on the part of the women for personal independence but quite the opposite. In Turbin's view, the trend points to these women's "desires for protection, which goes with subordination, and came at the expense of independence" (38). Kenny

similarly reminds us that, although better than other types of work available in America, and markedly better than conditions back in Ireland, domestic service was repressive, degrading, and lonely, an occupation in which sexual harassment and physical abuse were not infrequent (153). It "was surely not the liberating safe haven it has been portrayed to be," he writes (154). Meagher accepts Kenny's argument yet adds:

> Moreover, Nolan and especially Diner make powerful points in their suggestions that the wages and security of service, as well as the lessons in American culture learned in that work, helped Irish immigrant women establish themselves in their own communities and nourish the independence and ambitions of their daughters—even if those lessons and resources were hard earned in subservience to masters and mistresses.
>
> (*Columbia* 176)

The imposition of subservience is especially evident when a Famine Irish female appears in the same frame as a woman who enjoys full American cultural and legal status. The latter is ultrafeminine, refined in face and figure; the former is rough, masculine, at times more like a beast than a human. The distinction may be seen in Figure 5.3, the 1881 cartoon titled "Immigration East and West," and it jumps out at the reader in Figure 5.5, a single-column *Wasp* sketch titled "A Distinction."[24] Bridget looks like she might once have been a professional boxer. Her wide and nearly toothless

Figure 5.5 "A Distinction." Page 165 of *The Wasp*, October 16, 1880.

Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

mouth, cropped hair, flat chest, and huge hands both masculinize and simianize her. Mrs. Jones, meanwhile, has the elegant features of the idealized American matron, her form fitted by corset and bustle, her hair curled, her femininity enhanced by comparison with her negative image, Bridget. With a grim glare the employer questions Bridget's work history. One suspects that Mrs. Jones would welcome an alternative to this mess of a servant.

Stage West, Enter "Hop Sing"

Considering the waves of Chinese persons arriving in nineteenth-century San Francisco, it would come as little surprise to read that over time, Chinese women immigrants pushed Irish women out of domestic service in much the same way that the Irish once had displaced African American women. But that is not in fact what happened. Chinese persons surely undertook transoceanic journeys contemporaneous with those of Irish persons. In the same period that the Irish embarked on Green Atlantic voyages, the Chinese sailed the "Yellow Pacific"—a term invoked by Aoki. As does this volume in its references to the "Green Atlantic," Aoki borrows from *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy's milestone study of how transnational exchanges between Africa and America affected the histories of both continents.[25] Aoki concentrates on the ways that "Anglo-American attitudes towards the people and nations of Asia have shaped profoundly U.S. politics, culture, and economics for over a century and a half," that is, "Asian diaspora, race, immigration law and policy, and geopolitics" (899–900). This chapter adapts that approach, looking at attitudes of the Irish as well as the "Anglo-Americans" and focusing on how laws and cultural productions shaped racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual identities.

In the United States of the middle to late nineteenth century, racialized prejudices against immigrants from Asia indeed found expression in US legal and cultural production. A stock character in stories, songs, plays, and drawings—particularly in the American West—was the Chinese immigrant marked for his exotic dress, his pidgin English, and his non-Christian religious beliefs. His singsong stock name often contained a pun, such as the card cheat called "Ah Sin."[26] Another such name was "Hop Sing"; bestowed by the popular writer, Bret Harte, in the 1870s, it resurfaced in a 1960s television series Bonanza.[27] As for US legal production, state structures gave the Irish a legal platform to support their climb toward cultural acceptance yet denied such support to the Chinese. The 1790 statute that offered a speedy path to US citizenship required the applicant to be "a free white person."[28] The quoted phrase initially operated to exclude persons of African heritage yet to include persons of Irish heritage. The eventual arrival of immigrants from the Pacific provoked uncertainty as to whether they were "free" and "white"; recall, for instance, that the "Newsletter" account depicted in Figure 5.1 never reveals whether Loo Foh succeeded in his attempt to become a US citizen. By the end of the nineteenth century, a series of statutes and court

rulings had resolved all such doubts to the great detriment of the Chinese—Chinese men, that is, because the state structure of exclusion had stanched immigration of Chinese women a full quarter-century before.

In the years after the Gold Rush lured Chinese persons to the United States, female immigrants in particular were subjected to the "Immorality" epithet that surfaces in Figure 5.3. An example appears in "Chinese in California," an 1852 magazine article. The unnamed narrator quotes an unnamed "writer in San Francisco" who observes that "'very few'" of the city's Chinese are women (367). The narrator then recites the writer's description of an exception, a prostitute with a pun for a name: "'One of them is the noted Miss Atoy—a distinguished character, who has no pretensions to beauty, though she is not homely. She lives in a very public place, and shows herself at the door—always in regular national costume—with Chinese pantaloons of pure white or highly-wrought satin'" (367). As for the writer's "conjecture, that after the men have established a home they will send for their wives," the narrator insists that "this betrays an ignorance of the Chinese law, which prohibits women from being taken out of the country . . ." (368). Soon, it would be US law that prohibited Chinese women from entering the country. "[F]ears about the future of white lives, cultural forms, and nation became channeled into concerns about prostitution among Chinese immigrants," Eithne Luibhéid writes, adding that "such concerns became concretely incorporated into the immigration control process through strategies that officials devised to try and identify and exclude Chinese prostitutes" (31).

On March 3, 1875, Congress passed an immigration statute known as the Page Act in recognition of its chief sponsor, Horace Page, a Republican who represented San Francisco. Among other things,[29] the act required US consular officials in Asian ports to bar the US-bound departure "of any subject of China, Japan, or an Oriental country" who has contracted to enter "for lewd and immoral purposes" (Sec. 1); authorized felony punishment for "the importation into the United States of women for the purposes of prostitution" (Sec. 3); and declared it "unlawful for aliens of the following classes to immigrate to the United States, namely . . . women 'imported for the purposes of prostitution'" (Sec. 5). Statutes like the Page Act effectively purged communities of what few women there were: women comprised 7.2 percent of America's Chinese population in 1870, but that percentage was halved in just twenty years (Chan, "Exclusion" 94). And although the Page Act's ostensible purpose was to keep out Chinese prostitutes, its perverse effect, as Jean Pfaelzer writes, was to entrench in the minds of the US populace the belief that practically all Chinese women were prostitutes (104–05).

The exclusion of Chinese women had profound effects on the fate of Chinese men in the United States.[30] Aoki points to "the Page Act's presumptive bar on the admission of Chinese women," as well as other laws, including the California anti-miscegenation statutes noted in the Loo Foh-Mary Mahoney marriage notice accompanying Figure 5.1, and writes: "In effect, this

created a legal bar for the overwhelming male Chinese immigrant population to form and sustain a family" (912). State structures thus compelled "a predominantly bachelor society of Chinese laborers who were viewed as 'sojourners,' intending to return to China" (914–15). This was a boon to US capitalists, who wanted Chinese labor but not a reproducing Chinese population. Yet the enforced single status also engendered stereotypes with respect to the sexuality—the racialized sexuality—of Chinese men.

In her 2001 work *Fair Sex, Savage Dreams*, Jean Walton pinpoints a major issue facing scholars of gender and sexuality. Although she acknowledges with reservations the debt that feminism owes to Freud and psychoanalytic discourse, Walton rightly adds:

> But psychoanalysis does not offer the same useful model for thinking about racial difference. Indeed with few notable exceptions, little has been asked throughout the history of psychoanalysis about what kind of knowledge might be produced if articulations of gendered subjectivity were considered in terms of being dependent on or imbricated in implicit assumptions about 'whiteness' or 'blackness' in so far as perceptions and fantasies of racial difference might shape a significant axis of identity formation.
>
> (5)

In other words, formulations of psychoanalytical theory, and by extension psychoanalysis-based feminist and queer theories, have not accounted adequately for race. In the feminization of the Chinese male, however, several scholars, among them David L. Eng and Robert G. Lee, have identified linkages of gender, race, and sexuality that seriously challenge conventional feminist and queer theory approaches. Eng suggests that the solution begins with moving away from the "rather ahistorical and essentializing psychoanalytic formulations of the construction of subjectivity" (5) and toward a critical psychoanalytical approach that embraces a "serious analysis of racial difference" (15). In doing so, Eng resists "any false opposition between the 'psychological' trajectory of the humanities and the 'material' emphasis of the social sciences" (20). He argues "our conception of the real and 'reality' of race occurs not on one side of the psychic or on the other side of the material but at its very intersection" (20).

This intersection of the psychology and materiality of race is apparent in representations of the Chinese male. He is the sly figure in a skirt who bows before his "white" employer. Or he is the leering wraith in an evening suit who preys on "white" women. Or he is both: Lee asserts "the Chinese represented a third sex—an alternative or imagined sexuality that was potentially subversive and disruptive to the emergent heterosexual orthodoxy" (88). In effect, Hop Sing joins Bridget and Mammy in a liminal zone of the cultural imaginary, a zone of racial "Others," third-order identities who do not fit in the two-dimensional gender binary postulated by the dominant group.

Sly Figures in Skirts

The Gold Rush occurred in hypermasculine mid-century California, a time and place where men took notions of "manliness" to extremes. Arriving first in the quest for Sierra gold were men of European heritage. Rather than do the "women's work" of laundering, these white Forty-Niners sent their dirty shirts on months-long journeys to be cleaned, at great cost, in Honolulu or Hong Kong. The practice ended only after others made their way to the goldfields and, in part because their predecessors had already staked mining claims, submitted to the tasks that the white men had snubbed. These others came from Asia (Chang 49). In taking jobs like cooking and cleaning, they established a pattern of expected labor that would follow them once the depletion of gold reserves sent many Forty-Niners, of all ethnicities, to San Francisco.

Early on, San Francisco's population was predominantly young and male. Chinese men took up laundering and housework, tolerating longer hours, lower wages, cheaper food, and rougher lodging than other workers. The 1875 Page Act, helped to solidify this pattern. The city's 1880 census shows that more Chinese—3,836 persons—worked in domestic service than in any other occupation. Cigar makers and tobacco workers followed at 2,602, then launderers at 2,465 (Shumsky 83). The 1880 census put the total number of Chinese in the city at 21,745, although Yong Chen speculates that the number may have been closer to 30,000 (59). At any rate, approximately one-tenth of the city's population[31] was Chinese, and roughly one-third of the city's Chinese labor force worked as either domestics or launderers. The swelling numbers paralleled statistics elsewhere in California. Economic competition between Chinese men and others who sought work in the same sectors—among them, Irish women—fueled anti-Chinese cultural and legal production. Among the artifacts in the legal realm was the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, a federal statute that imposed criminal penalties on anyone permitting the entry or reentry into the United States of "any Chinese laborer."[32] In the cultural realm, many artifacts railed against the Chinese, attributing to them negative racial or ethnic and gender or sexual traits that in the minds of their white employers, confirmed their unsuitability for ideal male citizenship.

An example is Figure 5.6, the full-color lithograph that appears on the back page of an 1887 edition of *The Wasp*. Its inspiration is a legal opinion that had been issued just weeks earlier in which US Attorney General A. H. Garland held that the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act did not preclude the immigration of "Chinese 'body servants or nurses' . . . when such 'body servants or nurses' come within the United States to ply their vocations in competition with our own people similarly employed" (Garland 542–43). "Another Bar Down," the *Wasp* caption complains. The cartoon itself depicts no fewer than ten Chinese. One of those with the distinctive pigtail kneels before General Garland, who stands in front of a sign that orders: "Admit Nurse and

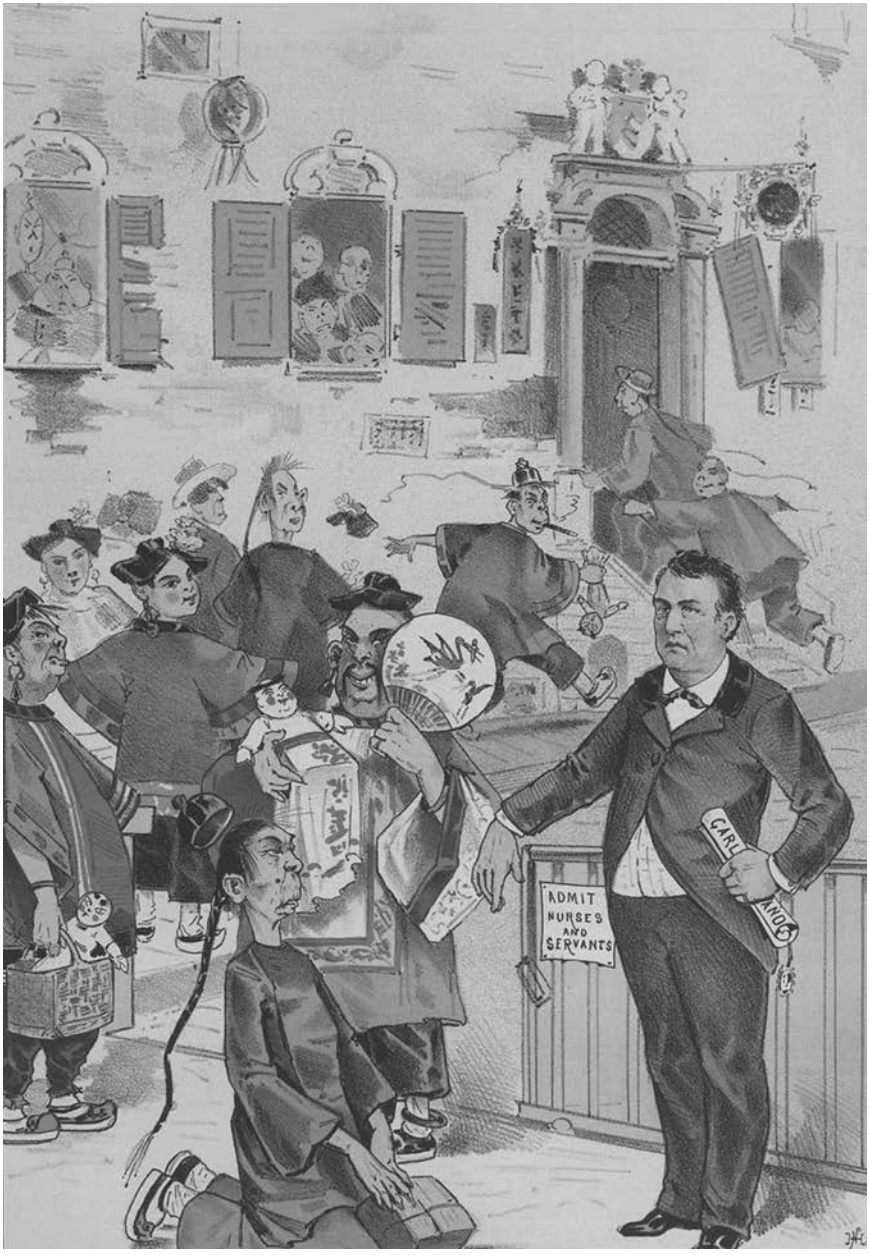

Figure 5.6 "Another Bar Down." Back cover of *The Wasp*, March 3, 1887.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Servants." Behind, several others in pigtails sneak into a Chinatown door. All the Chinese are male, but several appear otherwise: they are the "nurses," men elaborately decorated with long gowns, heavy makeup, and earrings. They carry fans and baby dolls. Their behavior bears no resemblance to the nineteenth-century ideal of American manhood. There is a charge of dishonesty, too, for their effeminacy is quite obviously an opportunistic put-on.

The charge of sly dishonesty is at the core of "Plain Language from Truthful James," a poem that appeared in an 1870 edition of San Francisco's *Overland Monthly* and became a catalyst for many more anti-Chinese cultural artifacts. Its author was Bret Harte, the popular writer who had introduced the Hop Sing character a few years before. The poem begins with the narrator seated at a card table with others—among them, Bill Nye and one Ah Sin, who it is said, "did not understand" (Harte, "Plain" 287). Nevertheless, Ah Sin wears a "smile that was child-like and bland" as the "small game" of euchre unfolds (Harte, "Plain" 287). The reason soon becomes clear:

> But the hands that were played
> By that heathen Chinee,
> And the points that he made,
> Were quite frightful to see—
> Till at last he put down a right bower,
> Which the same Nye had dealt unto me
> (Harte, "Plain" 287)

Once Ah Sin plays the "right bower," the jack representing the game's trump card, Nye and the narrator exchange looks. Nye "rose with a sigh,/And said, 'Can this be?/We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor' " (288). With that, Nye "went for" Ah Sin—branded, as Harte's poem is to this day, "that heathen Chinee" (288). The narrator—"truthful James"—concludes by revealing deception as the reason for Ah Sin's success:

> But the floor it was strewed
> Like the leaves on the strand
> With the cards that Ah Sin had been hiding,
> In the game 'he did not understand'
> (288)

Iris Chang writes that " 'The Heathen Chinee' struck a chord deep within the American psyche and became the country's most popular poem in the 1870s" (118). In short order, the poem was reproduced in pamphlets and "in virtually every newspaper" in the country (118). The same year that the poem appeared, 1870, also saw the publication of a musical version; the illustration on the cover of this sheet music shows the bearded narrator sitting, bored, while the bearded Nye chokes the smooth-faced and pigtailed Ah Sin (Harte, "Heathen"). In 1877, meanwhile, theatergoers in Washington

and New York encountered the same scene in *Ah Sin*, a play that Harte coauthored with Mark Twain (Thomason 17).

Harte reportedly had not meant the poem to be anti-Chinese (Nissen 110). Indeed, he considered himself pro-Chinese: for example, he writes favorably of his first Hop Sing, as a "Chinese philosopher" (Harte, "Wan Lee" 6), "a rather grave, decorous, handsome gentleman" (8), a "Pagan shopkeeper" whose "manner was urbane, but quite serious" and who "spoke French and English fluently" (8). Rather, Harte is said to have intended the poem known as "Heathen Chinee" to be anti-anti-Chinese—to decry the animus that others, especially the Irish, harbored against the Chinese. Thus he contrasts Ah Sin with Nye, a supposed Irishman.[33] Harte's Ah Sin may be an untrustworthy card sharp, but his Nye is not clever enough to best the contest of deception and is left to blame his own ruin on "Chinese cheap labor." Chang wonders which group Harte intended to ridicule—inept Irish or crafty Chinese (118). The answer may lie in examination of another setting for Irish-Chinese contestation, namely, the San Francisco washhouses and big houses where Bridgets once held sway.

Bridget Gets the Brush

The 1870 lament of Bill Nye, the presumedly Irish character in Harte's famous poem, finds echo in a song published the very next year in San Francisco. "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor," says Harte's Nye (Harte, "Plain" 288). Speaking in the imagined Irish brogue of the day, the jobless domestic in the 1871 song agrees: all of her troubles occur, as the song's title proclaims, "Since the Chinese Ruint the Thrade."[34] She begins by noting that she has lived for "eighteen year" in a "shanty down on Sixth Street," in a San Francisco neighborhood with an Irish nickname, "Cork Town." She is about to seek welfare assistance:

> I'm on the way to City Hall
> To get a little aid;
> It's meself that has to ax it now
> Since the Chinese ruint the thrade.

The narrator recounts her plight with bitterness, protesting that "I kin wash an' iron a shirt,/An I kin scrub a flure;/An' I kin starch a collar stiff/As any Chineseman, I'm shure;" and yet:

> But ther dhirty, pigtailed haythens,
> An' ther prices they are paid
> Have brought me to the state you
> See—
> They've ontirely ruint ther thrade
> (qtd in Moon 50)

With just three words—"dhirty, pigtailed haythens"—the narrator expresses contempt for her competitors' assertedly substandard hygiene, effeminate appearance, and non-Christian beliefs. She further maintains that it is the Chinese acceptance of low wages, rather than any shortcoming of hers, that has thrown her out of work.

The narrator then discloses additional reasons for her woe. Her husband used to have a job as "a mason's clark," a windfall described as "a fall from City Hall"; then, however, "[p]oor Mike was kilt at wark," leaving her "a widdy woman." This widow also has lost her "daughter Ellen . . . gone this year/Wid a French bally troupe, ther jade"—the last word is slang indicating that Ellen is no prima ballerina but rather a prostitute (Moon 51). Despite all this, in the narrator's mind the sole reason it is "hard to get along" is that "the Chinese ruint the trade." This stance drives her to homicidal fantasy:

> It makes me wild, whin I'm on the street,
> To see those heathen signs:
> Ah Sung, Ah Sing, Sam Lee, Ah Wing,
> An'ther ilegant sprid on ther lines.
> If iever I get me hands on Ah Sing,
> I'll make him Ah Sing indade—
> On me clothesline I'll pin the leather skin
> Of the haythen that ruint the thrade.

The narrator's hurtful rants no doubt drew laughs from the song's intended audience of working-class whites. Irish in the audience would have appreciated her claim to privileges of (white) US citizenship, such as a patronage job and government aid when out of a job. Yet the unknown author's contempt for the Irish also comes through: in this 1871 song, the narrator remains an unfeminine Bridget, a menial laborer who hurls threats of violence in the primitive accent of the uneducated.

Insinuations of a tendency to violence—an Irish stereotype also prevalent in nineteenth-century literature[35]—were not without some basis. As early as 1864, Irish women in the United States launched the Fenian Sisterhood as an aid to the transnational men's organization committed to armed struggle against British rule in Ireland.[36] "[T]he ladies were not inactive," one historian writes; "for in two months from their associating they returned upwards of £200,000 sterling to the Fenian exchequer for the purpose of purchasing arms and other war material" (Heckethorn 276). In San Francisco, the Fenian Sisterhood held an annual fund-raising ball (Burchell 101). Also in San Francisco, Irish women and Chinese men clashed; in 1870, for example, 300 Chinese men crossed picket lines to break a strike by Irish women factory workers (Chang 118). Irish women formed a ladies auxiliary to the League of Deliverance, an anti-Chinese labor group, although Martha Mabie Gardner's research confirms that women's roles mostly were secondary to those of men.[37]

The unflattering portrayal of the narrator in "Since the Chinese Ruint the Thrade" jibes, moreover, with an 1867 newspaper commentary on the Irish-Chinese question penned by none other than Bret Harte. Harte criticized the refusal to accord the Chinese rights, perpetrated "by the Americans and better class of European residents" (qtd in R. Lee 68).[38] This refusal fueled "blind hatred and active malice" within a group Harte holds apart from "the Americans"—"our Celtic citizens" whose "jealousy and malevolence" toward the Chinese is "equal only to their intolerance of the Negro" (qtd in R. Lee 68). These Irish assert superiority based on racialized physical differences and religious disputes, Harte writes. But he posits as the real source of malice Irish concern that their rivals are better suited for service to the US capitalist state:

> There is no doubt that the Chinese are gradually deposing the Irish from their old, recognized positions in the ranks of labor. The Chinese not only fill their places, they fill them more acceptably. As servants they are quick-witted, patient, obedient, and faithful. The old prerogatives of Bridget and Norah in her domestic circle are seriously threatened by the advent of these quiet, clean and orderly male chambermails and cooks. (qtd in R. Lee 68–69)

Further cause for this Irish concern takes shape in "The Servant Question," a two-page color illustration in an 1882 edition of *The Wasp* (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7 "The Servant Question." *The Wasp*, Volume 9 (July–Dec. 1882; Call No. 311:440–41).

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Crowding into a middle-class kitchen labeled "Employment Office" is a bevy of snub-nosed Bridgets and Norahs in fancy dresses, servant women putting on airs well above their station. Stirring a pot on the stove is an elegant, well-coiffed matron, her children and dog at her side. Biddies pepper her with questions in a scroll labeled "THE SHORTER CATECHISM," the noun a not-so-subtle reminder that the applicants and the presumably Protestant employer do not agree on the matter of religion. "Does the Masther kape late hours!" these Irish women demand. "Is the dishes put out to wash! . . . Have yez anny objections to me pore ould mither and me husband's lame nevvy slapin' in the kitchen! . . . Wud ye mind givin me sisther's pig a run in the garden of a Sunday afthernoon!" and so on. Meanwhile, hovering above the stove's vapors is a Chinese servant, his promise of compliant service evident in the legend just beneath him: "NO QUESTIONS ASKED." The Irish women are not long for their jobs.

Faced with such evidence of redundancy, the Irish fought back. As she had as early as 1861, when Bridget the cook appeared in Mary Anne Sadlier's *Bessy Conway*,[39] the Bridgets and Norahs of popular culture continued to claim ethnic superiority and, with it, the US privileges of whiteness. Increasingly, moreover, the producers putting words into the mouths of these Irish characters were themselves Irish.[40] An example was Edward Harrigan, "the nineteenth century's foremost dramatist of the life of the Irish in America," as Mick Moloney puts it ("Irish" 387). Harrigan, the grandson of a County Cork fisherman, was born in 1844 in Manhattan, adjacent the Five Points. Living from 1867 to 1870 in San Francisco, he launched a theater career that would span more than forty years (Moloney, *McNally's* 1, 2, 11).[41]

In Harrigan's repertoire, one Irish woman who gives the Chinese the business is Honora Dublin, a principal character in the 1881 play *Mulligan's Silver Wedding*. Although *Weddin*g takes place in the back alleys of Lower Manhattan, Harrigan's San Francisco years evidently inform its expressions of racialized hatred. For the nemesis of Dublin, an Irish laundress, is the Chinese launderer named Hog Eye. Dublin's diatribe against Hog Eye is more personal and so more vicious than that of the narrator in "Chinese Ruint the Thrade." To quote snippets from this awful vitriol, Dublin tells Hog Eye he is "not half a man," but rather "a nagur" because he eats "dinner with drumsticks" (qtd in Moon 53). He is a "baboon" and "a monkey" because he has "a tail growing out of his head" (qtd in Moon 53). Using gender-freighted phrasing, Dublin belittles him for lacking "whiskers on your face like a man" and scoffs: "The likes of you coming to a free country and walking around in your petticoats and calling yourself a man" (qtd in Moon 53). The ferocity with which the not-so-honorable Dublin emasculates Hog Eye—without help from any man—in effect en-masculates this Irish woman. The monolog "reflects the convergence within popular culture of older anti-Chinese attitudes and new forms of scientific racism that began in the nineteenth century," Krystyn R. Moon writes (54); put another way,

author Harrigan deploys against the Chinese the very same scientific racism that British colonizers and US nativists used against the Irish.[42] Initially, Harrigan's Honora Dublin advances a racial hierarchy that equates Chinese with African Americans and places the Irish above both; in the end, however, she places the Chinese "even further down the evolutionary scale by virtue of their racial inferiority and their inability to become American" (54). In Moon's view, Dublin's "statement is not only about competition but also about her fear of the degradation of whiteness and American identity" (54).

Irish fears of degradation find voice in another charge that Dublin levels against Hog Eye. "It's the rotten pipe you smoke," she tells him. "The neighbors are moving out of Mulligan Alley from the fume of it" (qtd in Moon 54). Opium-smoking and other vices attributed to the Chinese, such as thievery and prostitution, posed threats to the foundational institution of Irish American Catholicism: the family.[43] An 1887 *Wasp* cartoon captioned "The Consequences of Coolieism" illustrates this threat (see Figure 5.8). In an appeal for the closing of white ranks that speaks directly to the needs of the racial state, a note on page 3 of this edition writes of this garret scene: "Surely such a spectacle must stir the blood in the veins of either Saxon or Celt." Outside the garret window, it is apparent that the neighborhood has been overrun, for a Chinese garment factory, laundry, and cigar maker all

Figure 5.8 "The Consequences of Coolieism." *The Wasp*, November 7, 1887.
Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

prosper beneath a large roof sign that reads "No White Men Wanted." Inside the garret is a family of four persons, each drawn with the refined features that *Wasp* artists reserve for persons they deem white. The shawl draped on weeping Mother's shoulders, along with the ginger hair of post-pubescent Daughter, suggests Irish ethnicity. At the scene's door, Son rushes into the room, a loaf of stolen bread under his arm and a police officer in hot pursuit. Father lies lifeless on the floor, pistol in hand. Daughter languishes on a bed in the corner; wearing the knowing leer of Eve after the fall and a petticoat ripped at the bodice, she grips an opium pipe.

With Intermixing Comes Split Identity

Conjuring even greater resistance than Irish drug use was Irish intermixing, for the latter was seen to equate the Irish with "non-white" ethnic groups and thus to undermine Irish claims to cultural as well as legal membership in the US citizenry. A core threat was "miscegenation," a term that first entered the lexicon of American racism in an 1863 pamphlet coauthored by an Irish immigrant, D. G. Croly (Roediger 155).[44] Combining the Latin words *miscere* ("to mix") and *genus* ("race"), the term replaced the prior word for interracial sexual partnerships, "amalgamation" (156). As David Roediger points out: "Miscegenation's scientific ring gave it advantages, as did its success in conjuring up the 'mongrelization' of the United States as a political issue" (156). Whereas the term initially was used to refer to black-white relations, it would not be long before the Chinese were drawn into its poisonous claws. It is thus no accident that Harrigan's Honora Dublin brands her Chinese nemesis "a mongrel Asiatic" (qtd in Moon 53) or that Egan's Sexton Maginnis worries about "missy-genation among us" (Egan, *Sexton* 56).

Indeed, concern over miscegenation pervades US cultural production involving the Irish. It is evident in "John Chinaman's Marriage," a cultural product of 1868 that likely was produced, according to Moon, "by a San Francisco songwriter and an Irish impersonator, J. W. Conner" (37).[45] In this song, "carroty"-haired cockeyed Fan drinks to excess, berates rice as a food, and eventually abandons her Chinese husband, Ching Chong, for the wilds of the Sierra whence she came (37–38). Similar is "Ah Sin, Chinee—Song," derived from the Harte work, "Heathen Chinee."[46] This circa-1878 Ah Sin "come from China" to find romance: "Me like Irish gal, she like me" (H. Williams 4). But then a "Melican"—that is, an American—"man come 'long, Stealy Irish gal from poor Chinee" (H. Williams 4). Like Ching Chong, this Ah Sin is a threat because he is man enough to marry an Irish woman. Yet white audiences are to rest assured, for in the end both Chinese are too feminized to keep the "white" women from running off.

The assurance was not quite accurate. In 1852, fewer than two of every ten Irish married outside their ethnic group. That rate would persist among Irish men but not among Irish women. As decades passed the latter chose non-Irish husbands more frequently so that by 1880 the ratio of out-group

marriages among Irish women was nearly three out of ten. Out-group spouses usually were British or US-born but not always. In 1870, 8 percent of Irish women—compared with only 0.3 percent of Irish men—married someone whom state records categorized as "Other" (Burchell 79). This catchall group no doubt included continental Europeans, Australians, and South Americans—and Chinese. John Kuo Wei Tchen determines that in the mid-1800s "[o]ne of four Chinese men" in New York City "were married to Irish women" (Tchen 128). Chinese-Irish marriages were less frequent in San Francisco, Robert Lee writes; however, press coverage was ample, as shown by the 1876 image and account of the Loo Foh-Mary Mahoney nuptials with which this chapter began (see Figure 5.1).

The feared result of intermixing takes form in *Patsy O'Wang: An Irish Farce with a Chinese Mix-up*. This 1895 play constructs a racially ambiguous character inhabited by an Irish-Chinese "with a remarkable dual nature" (Denison 126). "Patsy O'Wang, alias Chin Sum," the barracks-raised son of a Chinese woman and an Irish soldier who served in the British Army in Hong Kong, turns Irish when he drinks whisky then reverts to a Chinese persona when he drinks tea (Denison 126). It is a split-personality device that owes much to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, published nine years previously. The play begins when Dr. Henry Fluke, who runs a sanitarium somewhere in the Midwestern or eastern United States,[47] hires Patsy O'Wang/Chin Sum as domestic help. This mixed-race man incurs the wrath of Norah, the maid, and Mike, the brawn in the service of the "mid-ical" profession:

NORAH. What do you think, Mike, of havin' a Chinee cook in the house?
MIKE. Ah Norah, it's an outrage, that's the whole blissid truth. To think of a blackgyard haythen cookin' for dacint people.
NORAH. It's a disgrace, I'll give notice, I will—
MIKE. I'll not ate a bit o'his dirthy cookin', faith I'll not.

(Denison 131)

Inevitably, Patsy drinks whisky, and mayhem ensues. Patsy resists ingesting tea and in the final scene declares that he wants to stay "Irish forever" (147). The play ends with a tune sung to the melody of "Pat Molloy" (147). "My father was a hooligan, me mother was Chinay," it begins. It ends with the following lines:

A fool for luck, the proverb says, a fool O'Wang must be,
But now I'm turned true Irishman, bad cess to all Chinee.
And in this free Ameriky I'll have a word to say;
I'm goin' into politics, I'll drink no more green tay.
And for the moral of this tale, I'm sure it's very plain;
When tipple stirs your blood too much, you'd better just abstain.

(148)

Patsy expresses the realization that his path to full American citizenship requires jettisoning his Chinese half for his Irish one, embracing Irish penchant for politics—not to mention taming his Irish half by giving up the drink, a theme of contemporaneous Catholic reform movements.[48] Robert Lee sees in the Chin Sum/Patsy O'Wang dichotomy the different futures America offered to the Chinese and the Irish:

> However divided by class, accent, and religion the Irish might be, whiteness confers upon them the freedom to create a unified ethnic identity as Irish Americans and use it as the vehicle for political power and economic mobility. Although Chin Sum may be preferable as an obedient, docile, and childlike servant, as a Chinese barred from naturalization in 1870 and from entering the country since 1882 he has no hope of becoming 'amalgamated' with the People or, like Patsy, free to run for alderman.
>
> (80–81)

An interesting feature of *Patsy* is that the maid, Norah, speaks with an accent less obviously Irish than that of Mike. Perhaps the difference is a tacit recognition of the role that domestic service played in the acculturation of Irish women.

Bridget Says Good-bye

Bridget's liminality within the confluence of race, class, gender, and sexuality is evident in one British man's account of his 1889 visit to San Francisco. "Kearny Street, at nine o'clock, levels all distinctions of rank as impartially as the grave," writes Rudyard Kipling, already renowned as an author. "Again and again I loitered at the heels of a couple of resplendent beings, only to overhear, when I expected the level voice of culture, the staccato 'Sez he,' 'Sez I,' that is the mark of the white servant-girl all the world over" (*Letters* 16). Kipling fixes his gaze on the resplendence of two women then averts his eyes when he hears their "uncultured" and distinctly lower-class Irish voices. Notably, however, the women's racial status, as white women, never is in doubt.[49] In dress and deportment, observes Kipling, the two appear very like their American mistresses.

As Diane Hotten-Somers points out, the fate of the servant was tied intimately to that of the mistress. She observes that most historians have treated the Irish servant and her American mistress as entities whose actions and influences remained somehow apart. When the two are brought together, Hotten-Somers argues,

> what becomes apparent is that the mistress-maid relationship not only defined the Irish woman's process of assimilation into American society, but also greatly helped American middle-class women to renegotiate

> their identities in the public sphere that became increasingly open to them during the second half of the nineteenth century.
>
> (228)

In short, the Irish woman became acculturated to the dominant culture.

Many American mistresses felt it their duty to teach their Irish servants not only the ways of American housekeeping but also the values of middle-class America. For this they relied on manuals by Harriet Beecher Stowe and other Protestant didacts—authors whose nostrums sometimes, although not always, dovetailed with those of Irish American Catholic authors like Sadlier.[50] Hotten-Somers writes that the Protestant books stressed "the mistress' responsibility to build the moral and ethical character that Irish women needed to adopt to become their surrogates" (232).

Famine refugees who embodied the US stereotype internalized this instruction. Few christened their own daughters "Bridget," wishing for their offspring something better than the stigma of the name and the domestic service it recalled. The second-generation Irish American woman thus jumped from acculturation to assimilation. As indicated in artifacts of the cultural imaginary,[51] the daughter shunned the brogue by which the Kiplings of the world had branded her mother ignorant. She had less need for Bridget's brawn and took on more of the appearance of Bridget's mistress. The daughters left domestic work, agreeing with other native-born women that it was "un-American" (Katzman 240). The transition was rapid. In 1880 such employment remained high in both groups. By 1900, although 60.5 percent of Irish-born women still were servants or laundry workers, only 18.9 percent of their daughters worked as domestics (Katzman 70; Burchell 57). In effect, the second generation abandoned the ways of its Irish-born parents and embraced the American whiteness—that is, the full citizenship—that both the law and the cultural imaginary extended to them. It is not happenstance that Mary Mahoney, the "pretty and young Irish girl" whose marriage to Loo Foh is depicted in Figure 5.1 is a second-generation Irish American.

Even as the vast majority of Miss Mahoneys chose to become wives—"true women," as some Catholic writers would have it—others of that generation followed Irish men into the public sphere. "American-born daughters flocked into public school teaching," writes Janet Nolan, a profession their servant mothers "held in high esteem" (*Servants* 3). Nowhere was this truer than in San Francisco. Rather than attend parochial schools, the institution that New York's Archbishop John Hughes had championed,[52] most of the California city's working-class Irish Catholics went to public schools. They stood a good chance of being taught by an Irish American woman: Nolan estimates that by "1886, 245 of the 752 teachers in San Francisco, or about a third of the total, had Irish last names. In 1910, 390 of the city's primary school teachers had Irish last names, an astonishing 49 percent of the total" (68).[53]

As Nolan notes, this high percentage of Irish American woman teachers in "the city's public schools at the turn of the last century demonstrates

an important point of the Irish experience in San Francisco that has been too-long overlooked: by the turn of the century, large numbers of Irish-American women had entered the lower middle class by becoming teachers" (66). The entry was not easy, given the elites' prejudices. During the brief reign of the Know-Nothing party in the mid-1850s, for example, immigrant Alice Kennedy reputedly lost her teaching job because of her Irish accent (68). Yet "sectarianism in the classroom became more muted over time," perhaps due to the increasing numbers of Irish Catholic teachers and pupils alike (74).[54]

Less easy for these women to vanquish was San Francisco's patriarchy. Men occupied all the senior positions within the Education Department. All school inspectors were men, and by 1880, they began a concerted effort to reduce "female supervisory authority" (77). Breaking their grip was Alice Kennedy's sister, Kate.[55] Kate was born into a prosperous farming family in 1827 in County Meath, Ireland, and educated at a convent school (Dowling, *Irish Dream* 240–42). Kate and two siblings emigrated in 1849, after the Famine devastated the family's fortunes (deFord 145). She was a San Francisco teacher by the late 1850s; on becoming a school principal soon after that, this "pioneer woman suffragist" who remained single throughout her sixty-two years of life, and who was "probably the only teacher of her period who was a member of a union—the Knights of Labor," learned she was paid less than her male counterparts (147). Her campaign to change state law on teacher's salaries succeeded in 1874 so that "Kate Kennedy was the first woman, anywhere in the world, to receive as a salaried employee, equal pay for equal work" (147). Among other accomplishments, Kennedy helped institute security of tenure for teachers in the city.

Yet Kennedy, like other Irish American women teaching in that era, well may have acquiesced to racial and ethnic discrimination in the schools. An 1855 amendment to state law reportedly carried a "white children' clause" that "had the effect of denying Negro, Chinese, and Indian children the right of attending public schools" (Cloud 44). Some improvements would be made with regard to African Americans, but "as late as 1884," the state's schools superintendent "decided that Chinese children could not be admitted to the public schools" for the reason that "the Chinese were excluded from citizenship" (45). That same year, principal Jennie Hurley, the forty-year-old daughter of an Irish immigrant, barred eight-year-old Mamie Tape, the daughter of Chinese immigrants, from attending class at San Francisco's Spring Valley School. A year later, in *Tape v. Hurley*, the California Supreme Court ruled against the principal and for the pupil. The case "elevated" the Chinese in America "to the status of African Americans and American Indians," Mae M. Ngai writes, adding: "This may seem like a dubious promotion, but it was an important concession that distinguished between exclusion as a policy goal and presence as a social fact" (70). Noteworthy for present purposes is the fact that in *Tape* as in other California discrimination

suits,[56] it was an Irish American who tried to impede the exercise of rights by a Chinese person.

Then, as now, teachers performed a precise ideological role on behalf of the state within a closely monitored schools apparatus. An 1891 San Francisco Board of Education pamphlet titled "Course of Study," for example, instructed teachers to "impress on the minds of their pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice and patriotism; . . . teach them to avoid idleness, profanity and falsehood; . . . instruct them on the principles of free government, and . . . train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship" (qtd in Nolan, *Servants* 74). Seven years later, a directive required "every classroom be supplied with a national flag and the same should be saluted every morning" (qtd in Nolan, *Servants* 74). Every Monday pupils were required to utter the pledge of "'allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands—one people, one language, one flag' " (qtd in Nolan, *Servants* 75). The school system, and the teachers within it, thus endeavored to produce a compliant and indoctrinated ideal citizenry at a time when that ideal was being shaped and defined at both local and national levels.

If, as David Lloyd and Paul Thomas have argued, "culture is seen to provide the ground for political citizenship" (1), then its full force was at work in late nineteenth-century San Francisco. The cultural imaginary posited true womanhood and manhood—that is, domesticated femininity and rugged male individualism—as the essence of ideal American citizenship. Any group whose members lacked these traits was an "Other" that helped to define the ideal. Otherness initially was assigned on account of race, ancestry, color, and religion. In the case of Irish women and Chinese men, it was reinforced by assignment to a third sex, that is, by the feminization of the Chinese male and the masculinization of the Irish female, effected in the domestic workplace and entrenched through cartoons, theatrical productions, and other forms of popular culture. This complex was buttressed by the state, which embraced certain ideals of "American" and "Other," then inscribed them into laws that kept the Chinese on the outside yet allowed the Irish entry into the dominant culture. In the nineteenth-century US cultural imaginary, exposure to the refining influence of American culture could effect the metamorphosis of an apelike Bridget, or at the very least her offspring, into a Mrs. Jones. But Hop Sing always remained Hop Sing and Mammy always Mammy, both held apart from the ideal of Americanism.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. All quotations in this paragraph are from "Father Paddy Powers upon the Coolie Plague," an item in the May 13, 1876, issue of *Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant*, Vol. 6, No. 20, 320. The item is cited in subsequent paragraphs by the shorthand reference "Powers."
2. See also West (5). On the significance of the Mexican War to developments in this era, see Ch. 1 of this volume.
3. On the Chinese and citizenship, see Ch. 6 of this volume.
4. See Ch. 4 for a fuller discussion of this novel, *The Wiles of Sexton Maginnis*.
5. See Aoki.
6. The 1852 Census reveals that only 5.1 percent of San Francisco's Irish population arrived directly from Ireland (Burchell 34).
7. The trans-Pacific Irish represent a fascinating phenomenon that deserves much more scholarly attention than I am able to provide in this book. Scholarship in this area is unfortunately sparse; however, there are hopeful signs that this may be changing. For example, see Malcolm Campbell's "Ireland's Furthest Shores." I addressed the trans-Pacific experience of one Irish immigrant to the US, John Mitchel, in O'Neill, "Memory."
8. Historian Yong Chen argues that Western historiography has misrepresented Chinese migration to America. For example, he disputes "the prevailing interpretation, which views Chinese emigration as a panic-stricken hunger-driven flight from poverty and other socio-economic difficulties" (13). In Chen's view, overemphasis on hardships emigrants suffered distorts the motivations of Chinese persons who set out on the road to Gold Mountain (41). Chen's assertions on this issue certainly contradict those of Takaki, (*Strangers*), and of others, such as Zo (*Chinese Immigration*). Iris Chang, however, presents a convincing argument that economic hardship and sheer determination spurred many Chinese to migrate to California. (See Chang Ch. 1.)
9. Although the trans-Pacific journey was undoubtedly difficult, the ordeal was considerably shorter for the Chinese argonauts than for most persons who circumnavigated the Americas to sail from New York to California. One of the first ships to bring Chinese prospectors from Hong Kong to San Francisco took sixty-three days (Chen 11); the journey around Cape Horn was five to eight months (Starr 52).
10. Notably, in California as a whole the percentage of Chinese persons decreased from 9 percent in 1860 to 8.6 percent in 1870 and to 7.5 percent in 1880 (Saxton, *Indispensable* 3).
11. Although the pertinent chapters in this volume are concerned solely with the Chinese, negative consequences were visited on immigrants from elsewhere in Asia, too, as scholars such as Lisa Lowe have made clear. See also Aoki (905–06, stressing differences among nationals of various Asian states, and proceeding to link anti-Chinese practices discussed in this book with twentieth-century US discrimination against persons of Japanese ancestry).
12. Moon-Ho Jung (64). It was, Jung notes, "a powerfully enduring image that would haunt generations of Asian migrants" (*ibid.*). For more on the use of this term, see Ch. 1 and Ch. 6 of this volume.
13. This chapter will focus on competition between Irish women and Chinese men, with an emphasis on gender and sexuality. Ch. 6, meanwhile, will examine the role of Irish workingmen in campaigns against Chinese laborers.
14. The phrase forms the title of a 1997 book by Haney López.
15. See Almaguer (62); Starr (93).
16. Its influence declined in the 1890s. For further details on *The Wasp* and its founder, Bohemia-born Francis Korbel, see West.
17. See Eagan, "'White,' If 'Not Quite.'"

18. The 1936 novel by that name was written by Margaret Mitchell, who was born in Atlanta in 1900 and died in the same city in 1949. See Jane Thomas. One of her great-grandfathers, Phillip Fitzgerald, a Catholic, had fled his native Ireland in the wake of the 1798 rebellion. Giemza, *Irish Catholic Writers* (115, 157–58). Mitchell's novel gave rise to the iconic film of the same name, released in 1939.
19. See Larsen's *Passing*.
20. Father Bernard O'Reilly's manual, which urged Irish females to become "true women," is detailed in Ch. 4 and further discussed later in this chapter.
21. See Dudden; Matthews, "Just a Housewife."
22. For an excellent analysis of the various ways in which Bridget was portrayed during this era in the New York-based magazine *Puck*, see M. Murphy, "Bridget."
23. See Nolan, *Ourselves*; see also Ch. 2 in this volume.
24. Because magazines like *Jolly Giant* and *The Wasp* focused on political life in the city, most full-page cartoons were, like most political events, all-male affairs. Like women themselves, portrayals of women were relegated to less prominent spaces.
25. Aoki (899). Aoki advances the metaphor to examine claims that the twenty-first century will be the "Asian century," and his article tends to refer to that concept and the Yellow Pacific somewhat interchangeably. On Gilroy and the Black and Green Atlantics, see the introduction.
26. See Harte, "Plain Language," an 1870 poem discussed more fully later in this chapter. Author Harte underscores his choice of name in these words from the poem: "Ah Sin was his name,/And I shall not deny/In regard to the same/What that name might imply . . ." (*ibid.* 287).
27. See Harte's play, *Two Men of Sandy Bar*, and his short story, "Wan Lee, the Pagan." On TV's "hot-tempered Chinese cook," see Prasso (112).
28. *1790 Naturalization Act*; see the introduction.
29. It also barred immigration founded upon less than the "free and voluntary consent" of the immigrant (1875 Page Act, Sec. 2). This ban on "the labor of any cooly[sic]" (Sec. 4), Aoki writes, proved "ineffective at stopping the entry of male Chinese laborers" (911 n.48). The aspect of the Page Act on which this chapter concentrates—that is, exclusion of women presumed immoral—was the successor to a California legislative effort. See *Cal. 1870 Stat.*, discussed in Ch. 6.
30. See Aoki (911 n.48); Luibhéid (31).
31. Burchell puts the 1880 population in San Francisco and its suburbs at 250,000 (3).
32. 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. The agitation, particularly in California, that led to the enactment of this statute will be discussed more fully in Ch. 6.
33. Chang unequivocally identifies Nye as "an Irishman" (118).
34. All quotations of this poem are as quoted in Krystyn R. Moon's *Yellowface* (50). According to Moon (191 n.49), the song appears without byline in *"The Poor Little Man" and the Man in the Moon Is Looking, Love, Songster* (San Francisco: G.W. Greene, 1871, 11).
35. See, for example, the discussion of Sadlier's *Blakes and Flanagans* and of O'Brien's *Dalys of Dalystown* in Ch. 3. Ch. 4 discusses the efforts of O'Reilly to tame Irish male violence by publication of a manual on "true manhood."
36. On the men's organization, the Fenian Brotherhood, see Ch. 2 of this volume.
37. The autobiography of a leader of the League of Deliverance, Frank Roney, contends that the women's group "fell to pieces without accomplishing the least bit of good" (375). Roney does concede that as a result of the ladies' auxiliary he "gained an insight into the employment of women as domestic servants, and also into reasons behind the employment of Chinese in that capacity" (*ibid.*). For Roney, the problem was San Francisco's *nouveaux riches*—the "ignorant parvenus" whose insufferable behavior required docile servants and not, to use Roney's term, "white domestics" (*ibid.*). Roney also receives mention in Ch. 6 of this volume.

38. Quoted is one of Harte's dispatches to Massachusetts's *Springfield Republican* (R. Lee 68).
39. See the discussion of this novel in Ch. 3.
40. For this discussion of the interrelation of theater producers and cultural production, I am indebted to the analysis in Moon's *Yellowface*.
41. Returning to New York in 1870, Harrigan teamed with Mayo-born Tony Hart. "One of their first major engagements was in Boston in the Howard Athenaeum in 1871. . . . They were billed as the Famed California Artists: Harrigan and Hart—though Tony had never been west of Chicago" (Moloney, *McNally's* 4). Over the years, a key collaborator of Harrigan would be the London-born violinist David Braham (Moloney, "Irish" 387–88). No less a figure than Rudyard Kipling included two verses of "The Mulligan Guards," a song by that duo, in the text of his masterwork, *Kim* (Kipling, *Kim* 128). That 1901 novel is discussed more fully in Ch. 6.
42. See the introduction to this volume.
43. On the importance of the family, see Ch. 4, Ch. 5, and Ch. 6 in this volume.
44. Croly's coauthor was named George Wakeman (Roediger 155).
45. Conner is likewise listed as the author, also in 1868, of "John Chinaman, My Jo," sung to the melody for Robert Burns's "John Anderson, My Jo" (Conner 119).
46. See Moon (52).
47. The city where events take place is not stated. However, it must be assumed to be somewhere other than the West because of one of Dr. Fluke's opening declarations, made to his own wife: "Out in California, you know, people are charmed with Chinese cooks. Why, your sister couldn't be induced to part with Weak Lung" (127). The first edition of the play was published by the author's own publishing house, based in Chicago.
48. On the abstinence movement, see Ch. 4. On Patsy's "ambition . . . to be an alderman and die beloved and respected by all" (Denison 147)—an aspiration reflective of the Irish and politics—see the introduction, Ch. 2, and Ch. 6 in this volume.
49. On a similar dynamic in another passage from this same 1889 account by Kipling—the latter respecting Irish male voters—see Ch. 6.
50. See Ch. 3. For samples of the works on which these Protestant employers relied, see Spofford's *The Servant Girl Question*, Stowe's "Ireland's Daughters" and "Mistress and Maid," and C. Beecher's *Letters*.
51. In addition to the cultural production described in this chapter, literature analyzed in Ch. 4 of this volume both reflects and tries to hasten this change.
52. See Ch. 2 and Ch. 3 of this volume.
53. Nolan adds that children who did attend parochial schools were likely to be taught by Irish-born nuns (*Servants* 67–68).
54. Burchell reports that by "1852 there were over 1,400 Irish children in the city, not born in Ireland, and by 1870 there were 20,015 of this second generation" (3).
55. A feminist pioneer with a sharp intellect and indefatigable character, Kate Kennedy deserves more attention than I can give her here. For more on her life, see deFord; Dowling, *Dream*; and J. Nolan, *Teachers*.
56. See Ch. 6.

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6 In California, Workers Divided

On a sweltering day in May 1969, tens of thousands gathered at Promontory Point in the Utah wilderness to celebrate the centenary of Leland Stanford's driving of the Golden Spike, the ceremonial completion of one of the nineteenth-century America's greatest engineering achievements. Speaking "in a flat, nasal Bostonian accent," US Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe extolled the century-old transcontinental railroad (Champion 6). "Who else but Americans," he asked, "could drill ten tunnels in mountains 30 feet deep in snow? Who else but Americans could chisel through miles of solid granite? Who else but Americans could have laid ten miles of track in 12 hours?" (qtd in Champion 6). Secretary Volpe's stirring questions played the great game of historical revisionism, a game well-suited to the telling of tall tales from the wild, wild West.

An estimated 12,000 or more Chinese, along with as many as 10,000 Irish, had helped place rails toward Promontory.[1] Uncounted numbers perished along the way: although research has turned up no estimates of Irish casualties, Jean Pfaelzer writes that "hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Chinese had died building the railroad" (168). Even though men from both groups suffered on the railway, their lives traveled separate tracks both before and after the driving of the Golden Spike. By 1869 some persons of Irish heritage already had laid claim to a place among California's political and financial elite. Their influence would increase as more Irish gained American cultural acceptance in addition to the US citizenship available to them by dint of their status as "free white persons."[2] Indeed, a "celebrated Irish songster" opened the 1869 ceremony; according to Patrick J. Dowling, one O.P. Kenedy "rendered the 'Star Spangled Banner' with such power that he was called back for a repeat performance" (*Irish Californians* 198). There is little doubt that Secretary Volpe meant to include the Irish among those Americans who had built the railroad, just as there is little doubt that he meant to exclude the Chinese. This was not lost on participants in the 1969 centennial. "Sitting in angry silence at the rear of the bunting-draped platform" while Volpe spoke were three dignitaries of Chinese heritage: Philip P. Choy and Thomas W. Chinn, heads of the Chinese Historical Society of America, and Chou Tung-hua, the San Francisco consul general for the Republic of China (Champion 6). "Unlike Volpe, the three were well aware that none of

the Chinese railroad workers were Americans," Dale Champion writes. "In fact, foreign-born Chinese were barred for years from becoming citizens" (Champion 6). In the late nineteenth century pressure groups and governments alike—Irish activists and officials among them—worked to erase the Chinese from all aspects of American society.

This dynamic is apparent in the imagery of the period. For example, one sees only a few Chinese and a few women amid the multitude in Thomas Hill's "Last Spike," an 1881 painting of the 1869 ceremony at Promontory Point that is still on display at California's State Railroad Museum.[3] To similar effect is "The East and West. The Orient and Occident Shaking Hands after Driving the Last Spike" (see Figure 6.1). Caption notwithstanding, this illustration of the 1869 event rather favors the Occident. Virtually all the men—and all the pictured celebrants are men—appear to be of European descent. Many in the white majority could be Irish; for instance, the rotund, mutton-chopped, bowler-hatted pipe smoker at lower right. The absence of more pronounced stereotypes may itself be a marker of Irish assimilation into the dominant culture. By contrast, the two Chinese evident in the picture wear cliché costumes and long, braided queues. The "metaphor" of race that is, in Toni Morrison's words, "so necessary to the construction of 'Americanness' " (*Reading* 47),[4] thus is present at this purported union of East and West.

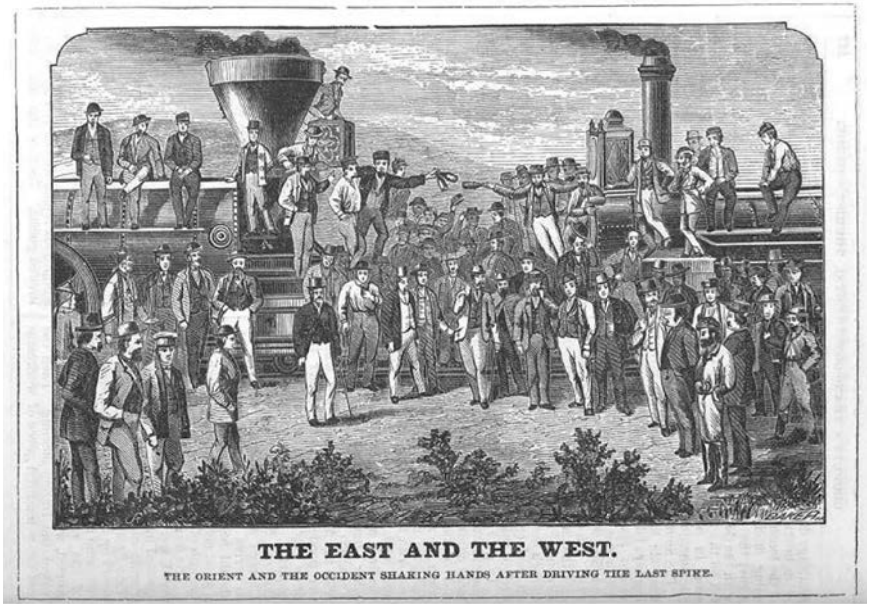

Figure 6.1 "The East and the West. The Orient and the Occident Shaking Hands after Driving the Last Spike," in Crofutt, George A., *Crofutt's Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide*. New York: George A. Crofutt, 1873: 118.

Archive.org. Accessed 01/19/15.

The symbolic spike rests in peace at a Stanford University museum. But the disregard of Chinese workers still haunts California, a project in which that university's founder, spike driver Leland Stanford, played an essential role. Equally essential to building California were other economic and political actors. Figuring prominently among them were Famine Irish and their descendants.

Two Gangs of Four

On a June night in 1861, four canny capitalists sat in a Sacramento hardware store and listened intently to an engineer's vision of a railroad that would unite America's East and West coasts (Lewis, *Four* 20–28).[5] San Franciscans already had ridiculed that dream, and so this time the engineer spoke mostly of a Sacramento segment through which railroad owners could control the Nevada mining trade. These listeners—wholesale grocer Leland Stanford, dry-goods merchant Charles Crocker, and hardware store partners Mark Hopkins and Collis P. Huntington—recognized the plan's potential and thus invested in the engineer's fledgling venture, called the Central Pacific Railroad Company. Soon Stanford would be elected California's governor,[6] and eventually he and his fellow investors would gain control of the company.[7] The quartet, all WASPs originally from upstate New York, would be dubbed the Big Four. Over time, all four would amass great fortunes, in part, Oscar Lewis reports, by milking state coffers through the shrewd use of using extortion, bribery, and public relations.[8]

Among the capitalists with whom Stanford and his three allies would deal was another foursome, comprising William O'Brien, James Flood, James Fair, and John Mackay. At times this quartet also was called the Big Four—or, in recognition of its shared Irish Catholic identity, the Irish Four.[9] These Irish tycoons are best known as the Silver Kings: after trying their hands at Sierra gold mining, together they seized control of the Nevada silver mines just as the transcontinental railroad neared completion and so became among the era's very richest men.

Critical to the expansionist project of a trans-US railroad was the US state. On July 1, 1862—the same day that Union troops lost a weeklong campaign to end the Civil War by capturing the Confederate capital, Richmond—President Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Pacific Railway Act.[10] The aim of this US statute was to construct rail and telegraph lines in exchange for promised "Government Use of those Lines for Postal, Military, and Other Purposes" (*Pacific Railway Act*). The statute established a Union Pacific Railroad Company and charged it with laying track westward through Nevada (Sec. 2). It granted railroads a "right of way through the public lands" (Sec. 2), lands the government had acquired in the practice of Manifest Destiny.[11] The Pacific Railway Act of 1862 further authorized the Central Pacific to continue laying track eastward "until said roads shall meet and connect"

(Sec. 10). The race was on, and each company would require thousands of laborers to complete its end of the line.

The Big Four's eastbound Central Pacific tried to persuade the US government to let them use Confederate prisoners of war as mountain track layers, but the Civil War ended before the scheme could be realized (R. O'Connor 73). Thus the four turned to a source of labor that, as late as 1862, Stanford had denounced as "the 'dregs' of Asia" (qtd in Chang 56). These were the Chinese. By 1865, Stanford declared them to be "quiet, peaceable, industrious, economical—ready to learn all the different types of work" that the railroad company required (Takaki, *Different Mirror* 196).[12] After combing California's Chinatowns, recruiters enlisted the San Francisco association known as the Chinese Six Companies to procure workers directly from China.[13] Soon the Central Pacific's workforce was nearly nine-tenths Chinese (R. O'Connor 75). In the three years before the 1869 completion of the railroad, an estimated 10,000 Chinese were employed to tunnel through the Sierra and lay track across the unforgiving deserts of Nevada and Utah (Saxton, *Indispensable* 4). These men also provided expertise in engineering and explosives. Their employment entailed huge savings, given that hiring the same number of "white" workers would have increased the Central Pacific's labor costs by about a third (Takaki, *Different Mirror* 197).

Meanwhile, the Union Pacific Railroad, charged with laying track from east to west, found much of the muscle it needed in other often-desperate denizens. These were the Irish. The Great Famine had ended, but the Irish still flooded Eastern seaports, still landed in squalid Eastern slums; eagerly they joined this trek across America's Great Plains (Saxton, *Indispensable* 62). Upward of 9,000 Irish are believed to have found employment with the Union Pacific[14] (R. O'Connor 82). The work's grueling nature surfaces in "Poor Paddy Works on the Railway," "widely sung and known since its publication in sheet music in the early 1850's" (Sandburg 356-57). Paddy tells of his Green Atlantic crossing: "I sailed away across the sea/To work upon the railway" in 1843, he says, adding that he arrived "on Columbia's shore" the following year (qtd in Sandburg 357).[15] Life in America has not gone well: "I'm weary of the railway/Poor Paddy works on the railway" (qtd in Sandburg 357).

Both companies "sent surveyors beyond the other's rails—the Union Pacific almost to the California line, the Central hundreds of miles east of Ogden, Utah," Lewis writes. "Track-laying continued until the graded lines paralleled each other for miles; Chinese and Irish crews regarded one another curiously and with mutual distaste" (*Four* 92). The Irish of the Union Pacific endeavored to prove their claim to racial superiority by assaulting the Chinese of the Central Pacific (R. O'Connor 82-83). The Chinese resisted with rocks, boulders, and on occasion, explosives. Dozens of workers died, while their employers fought to control as much track as possible. The US government arranged a marriage of the railroads at Promontory Point, fifty-six

miles west of Ogden. But many Irish and Chinese workers carried grudges with them after that 1869 ceremony; indeed they had nursed those grudges since the Gold Rush era of the late 1840s and early 1850s.

"Our Gold Is All You're After"

The 1848 discovery of gold had brought to the Sierra Nevada people from all walks of life, from everywhere in the United States and across the world. California located the Jacksonian dream—it was a land of rugged pioneers, independent small producers, and hardy miners. The notion of "free white labor" crystallized alongside a "free-soil" movement that urged the opening of "territories for the development by non-slaveholding settlers" (Saxton, *Indispensable* 33).[16] Meant, of course, were white settlers. White supremacist ideology pervaded the free-soil movement, and California emerged as an ideal theater for the construction of the "white republic," to borrow Alexander Saxton's phrase.

Prospectors had complained about their daily grind: the narrator of "Miner's Lament," sung to the tune of "Irish Dragoon," "dug and toiled . . . Till all my clothes were spoiled" (Guinn 212). He "picked and dug, and packed and lugged . . . Till hunger made me eat at last/The mule I used to ride on" (213). Yet the promise of untold wealth had stirred rivalries, often ordered according to perceived ethnic differences. "From the goldfields of the Sierras came the nativist cry," Ronald Takaki writes, "California for Americans!" (*Different Mirror* 195).[17] The state legislature responded with an 1850 tax on all "foreign-born" miners, primarily aimed at Mexicans and South Americans. Equally burdened miners born in Ireland, England, Germany, and Canada protested. The law was quickly rewritten to exempt any "free white person," that is, anyone the racial state deemed eligible for American citizenship (Pfaelzer 22). Even as it excluded the Chinese and others,[18] gold had confirmed Irish whiteness.

Iris Chang surmises that Chinese migrants first may have arrived in San Francisco in 1848, based on a newspaper report on the landing of "'two or three 'Celestials,'" as Chinese frequently were called (46).[19] Migrant Chinese received welcome as late as 1851.[20] Yet as their numbers increased—an 1852 census counted 3,500 Chinese in San Francisco (9.7 percent of the city's population), compared with 5,600 Irish (15.5 percent)—public opinion shifted.[21] Songs like "John Chinaman" reflect this shift:

> Oh, John, I've been deceived in you,
> And in all your thieving clan,
> For our gold is all you're after, John,
> To get it as you can.[22]

During and after the Gold Rush, legislators passed discriminatory bills. One law required any miner who did not wish to attain US citizenship to make a payment of $3 a month.[23] "Even if they wanted to, the Chinese could not

become citizens," Takaki writes, "for they had been rendered ineligible for citizenship by the 1790 federal law that reserved naturalized citizenship for 'white persons" (*Different Mirror* 195).[24] Another California law compelled all Chinese not employed in growing tea, rice, coffee, or sugar to pay a monthly license fee of $2.50 in an effort, as the statute's full title put it, "to Protect Free White Labor against Competition with Chinese Coolie Labor, and to Discourage the Immigration of Chinese" (*Anti-Coolie Act*). Such measures did not result in the mass return of Chinese workers to China; to the contrary, some Chinese occupied mining towns deserted by other ethnic groups. Violence broke out and, in a precursor of the next decade's railway riots, Chinese camps were incinerated. Overcome, the Chinese were purged from the goldfields. In Shasta County in 1853, an estimated 3,000 Chinese had mined the riverbeds and creeks, but Pfaelzer reports that at "the end of the decade only 160 remained" (16). Elsewhere in California, an economic boom had produced a need for menial laborers. White workers able to secure better-paying jobs shunned such work, and Chinese moved to fill the vacuum (Saxton, *Rise* 295).[25]

A Presence too Strong

In the 1850s, people streamed into California's largest and most prosperous city. An 1853 poem labeled, simply "San Francisco" spoke of miners, gamblers, brokers, Frenchmen, and Yankees, as well as members of two other ethnic groups:

> Three "Celestial angels"
> Waddling hand in hand,
> Pity they have fallen
> Into—such a land!
> Tipsy son of Erin,
> Fresh from Linnavaddy,
> Takes a running fight
> With a brother Paddy.
> (Sweet 210)

More than one such son of Erin was a prospector who had abandoned his quest for Sierra gold. Like the narrator of "Miner's Lament," Irish miners sick and tired of hard labor, frustrated that "rain in torrents poured" and "Grizzlies came and stole my grub," made their way to San Francisco (Guinn et al. 213). Many more Irish men, women, and children came from cities back East, such as Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and New Orleans, to settle in San Francisco. Although old anti-Irish prejudices accompanied them,[26] many Irish tended to fare well in the city, which lacked an entrenched elite. Timothy Sarbaugh writes: "Stabilized and experienced, the Irish—numerous, urbanized immigrant families—competed well in an early San Francisco that was dominated by young and single males without urban experience" (163).[27]

New England Protestant Brahmins long had regarded California as a battleground in the fight to stop the spread of Catholicism in the United States. But "the Roman Catholic presence was too strong," Kevin Starr writes (*Americans* 93). Put to the choice, Anglo-American settlers allied with the Spanish-speaking *Californio*, whose Christianity set him apart from most Chinese and Native Americans. "Mexican Catholics," notes Tomás Almaguer, "were at least God-fearing people and were seen as more closely approximating European-American notions of civility" (62). And in California as in other parts of the United States, the Catholic hierarchy welcomed the Americanization of its flock (63) and thus paved immigrants' way toward US citizenship.[29] Initially composed of bourgeois Iberians like Catalonia-born Joseph Alemany, the first archbishop of San Francisco, this hierarchy depended on its Catholic Irish. The latter became priests, nuns, and parishioners, of course. The wealthiest among them—the Irish Four Silver Kings; Hibernia Bank founders John Sullivan, Richard Tobin, and Myles Sweeney; and the Donahue brothers, owners of iron foundries—also gave money to build Catholic churches, convents, and schools.[30]

Even the poorer Irish wielded influence on account of their sheer numbers. Each of the four censuses conducted between 1852 and 1880 recorded increases both in the amount and in the percentage of San Francisco Irish: numbering only 5,600 persons, or 15.5 percent, in 1852, the Irish contingent soared to 30.5 percent of the population, or 45,875 persons, by 1870, the year following the completion of the transcontinental railroad (see Table 6.1). In the next decade, another influx of Irish reportedly "made the group the largest of any in San Francisco" (Burchell 4). No less a luminary than Rudyard Kipling observed in 1889: "In San Francisco, the gathering place of the races, there is a distinct Italian vote to be considered, but the Irish vote is more important" (*Letters* 46). The Briton explained that "the city is governed by the Irish vote and the Irish influence, under the rule of a gentleman whose sight is impaired, and who requires a man to lead him about the streets. He is called officially 'Boss Buckley,' and unofficially the 'Blind White Devil' " (46–47).

Kipling's emphasis on the Irish politico's "white" status is notable, given his 1900 description of the Chinese as "yellow people with black hearts" who possessed "a devil-born capacity for doing more work than they ought" (qtd in Scott 313). In San Francisco, David Scott writes, Kipling advocated annihilation: "This people ought to be killed off because they are unlike any

Table 6.1 Irish and Chinese Population in Late Nineteenth-Century San Francisco[28]

Year	*Total Population*	*Irish (number)*	*Irish (percentage)*	*Chinese (number)*	*Chinese (percentage)*
1852	36,154	5,600	15.5	3,500	9.7
1860	56,082	9,363	16.5	2,719	4.8
1870	149,473	45,875	30.6	12,030	8.0
1880	233,959	78,421	33.5	21,790	9.3

people I ever met before" (314).[31] The 1889 description pales by comparison, as does the same passage's hackneyed references to the Irish as lazy and loquacious, lovers of liquor, and loathers of the English.[32] Yet it must be noted that the Briton's called one of his most famous heroes, the spy Kimball O'Hara, "Irish and Oriental in his soul" (Kipling, *Kim* 49). Kim is the India born, "burned black," "poor white" son of an Irish Catholic member of the British Army who succumbs to alcoholism and opium addiction (49). "It is very pleasant to hear that you like *Kim*," Kipling told an admirer of his 1901 novel. "Of course he was Irish. He had to be. The Irish (southern) are the Orientals of the West."[33]

In 1889, however, it was Boss Buckley who was the object of Kipling's attention.[34] Even before Buckley fully consolidated Irish power in San Francisco, Irish men there had won election to federal, state, and local offices.[35] San Franciscans present at the 1869 Golden Spike ceremony thus had included: Galway-born John Conness and Mullingar-born Eugene Casserly, an outgoing and an incoming US Senator, respectively; Roscommon-born John G. Downey, who had been California's first Irish governor; and Longford-born Frank McCoppin, San Francisco's first Irish mayor.[36] Some of these Irish immigrants would take part in efforts to outlaw Chinese immigration. Casserly, for example, once went so far as to assert: "The Democratic Party has always held that our institutions contemplated only the white race" (qtd in Burchell 136). Yet these politicians' actions appear tame next to those of the fiery, Irish-led movement that goaded them on.[37]

"New Laws of the Workingmen"

Several years after the driving of the Golden Spike, on July 23, 1877, a crowd gathered for a protest organized by the San Francisco branch of a Marxist-influenced group, the Workingmen's Party of the United States.[38] The demonstration was to have been a peaceful expression of solidarity with railroad workers on strike back East. But those assembled had other ideas. "Shortly after nine o'clock," writes Neal Larry Shumsky, "someone on the fringe of the crowd yelled 'on to Chinatown!' and a rush began" (13). The mob laid waste to one Chinese laundry then another.[39] By the end of the night, twenty laundries were razed. The next night, when militias prevented an assault on a woolen mill that employed Chinese labor, rioters destroyed some washhouses instead. The third night left "in its wake four men dead, another fourteen wounded, and $500,000 worth of property in ruins" (14).

Remarkable for their destructive extent, these Chinatown riots unfortunately were not aberrations in late nineteenth-century San Francisco. Between 1870 and 1880, the city's population jumped from about 150,000 to about 234,000 inhabitants (Table 6.1), nearly half of whom were foreign born (Shumsky 38). The completion of the transcontinental railroad and the depletion of the Sierra mines had spawned an army of unemployed workers from all ethnic groups. Many sought relief in San Francisco, and their arrival drove down wages. Compounding matters were changes in

the city's economy. All industries, including mining and agriculture, mechanized. Tradesmen were sapped of their utility and, therefore, their power.[40] In demand was unskilled labor—and the Chinese, nearly three-quarters of whom were not skilled, stood ready to meet the demand. As seen in cultural production like "Since the Chinese Ruint the Thrade,"[41] white members of the working class blamed the Chinese for their own unemployment, and opportunistic white employers used this acrimony to weaken labor solidarity. In Poulantzian terms, the ruling elite recognized the need to accommodate angry whites to maintain the state's unequal equilibrium.[42] The Big Four further continued to encourage Chinese immigration even after the joinder of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines. In point of fact, in 1874 the two railroads founded the Occidental & Oriental Steamship Company to assure a steady transport of cargo. "During the first decade of service," John Haskell Kemble writes, "the numbers of Asiatics carried to the United States by the O. & O. was sometimes over a thousand in a single ship" (353). White orators at mass meetings demanded an end to what was called "coolie labor," and Chinese people suffered vicious assaults (Nee 46–47).[43]

In the absence of concrete proof about who took part in violence like the 1877 Chinatown riots, Shumsky points persuasively to the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), the local unit that soon would displace the presumed-too-passive national group (18). In so doing, he points a finger directly at the Irish—not at establishment Irish politicians,[44] and not at mainstream Irish clergy,[45] but rather at Irish laborers who swelled the ranks of the WPC. Although the WPC was best known for its rallies at the sand lots outside San Francisco's city hall, it frequently met in Irish venues, such as the Hibernia Hall or the thousand-seat Irish-American Hall[46] (Burchell 108, 149). Common in such meetings were assertions that the Irish were suffering—typically, at the hands of WASP capitalists or Chinese workers.[47] Green ribbons festooned WPC parades. Sung to the melody of the Famine Irish revenge anthem, "Skibbereen," was a ballad that paid homage to the WPC:

> Another Chinese steamer
> Has landed here in town . . . .
> Today I read the papers
> And it grieves my heart full sore
> To see upon that title page
> O Just "Twelve Hundred More!"
>
> . . .
>
> This state of things can never last
> In this our golden land
> For soon you'll hear the avenging cry
> "Drive out the Chinaman!" . . .[48]

Poet Will P. Johnston further rooted the WPC in the Auld Sod, urging his readers to "Remember the 'Sand Lot', our native soil/It's like the dirt of

the dear green Isle" (qtd in Burchell 149). Based on San Francisco ballot results, Shumsky concludes that "an Irishman who opposed the WPC in 1878 was rare indeed" (28).[49] Finally, the WPC's leadership was solidly Irish. It included John G. Day, a Canadian carpenter of Irish descent, and Frank Roney, a Belfast Fenian activist turned California-style socialist.[50] Most notable was Denis Kearney, author of a WPC slogan, "The Chinese must go!"[51]

Kearney had been born in County Cork in 1847, the worst year of the Great Famine. Having migrated to the United States as a child,[52] in 1868 he arrived in San Francisco as "first mate on the clipper ship *Shooting Star*" (Saxton, *Indispensable* 117). For a time he worked on coastal steamers then bought a hauling firm in 1872 (Shumsky 55–56). According to Chang, Kearney "invested heavily in mining stocks and lost everything in the crash" (125), and this failure soured him. Shumsky disagrees, maintaining that Kearney's drayage succeeded and that by 1899, he enjoyed a prosperous life (56). Whatever the cause, from the mid-1870s onward bitterness—albeit a bitterness blended with extraordinary opportunism—consumed him.

Kearney, a broad-faced man with a high cowlick and a jutting nose (see Figure 6.2), "appeared in front of his audience in a workingman's garb, usually with uprolled sleeves."[53] No doubt with men like Denis Kearney in mind, in 1909 Mary Roberts Coolidge wrote of the Irish: "Not only in California but elsewhere in the larger cities they have shown violent antipathy to the darker races, and have brought with them from Ireland the tradition of turbulency" (270). Indeed the disgruntled and often unemployed Irish who gathered at the sand lots reveled in Kearney's speeches. "A gifted demagogue," according to Chang, "Kearney soon became a crowd favorite, prescribing violent solutions for those with the courage to take matters into their own hands" (125). Chang samples his sanguine rhetoric:

> "Before I starve in a country like this, I will cut a man's throat and take whatever he has got," he announced. He urged workers to "tear the masks from off these tyrants, these lecherous bondholders, these political thieves and railroad robbers, when they do that they will find that they are swine, hogs possessed of devils, and then we will drive them into the sea."
>
> (125)

Other speeches likewise targeted established wealth and power.[54] At a September 1877 rally Kearney insisted:

> We don't want to send little boys out to burn Chinese washhouses; no, we want an organization to resist the regular army and the gray coats and the Committee of Safety when the time comes. . . . A little judicious hanging right here and now will be the best course to pursue with these capitalists and stock sharps who are all the time robbing us.
>
> (qtd in Shumsky 175)

Figure 6.2 "Denis Kearney," undated photo. Call No. 2 cop. 1; filename I0045251a.tif.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Two months later, Kearney railed against two of the Big Four: "I tell you, and I want Stanford and the press to understand, that if I give an order to hang Crocker, it will be done. . . . The dignity of labor must be sustained, even if we have to kill every wretch that opposes it" (qtd in Shumsky 175). To similar effect were these words:

> The Central Pacific Railroad men are thieves, and will soon feel the power of the workingmen. When I have thoroughly organized my party, we will march through the city and compel the thieves to give up the

> plunder. I will lead you to the City Hall, clean out the police force, hang the prosecuting attorney, burn every book that has a particle of law in it, and then enact new laws of the workingmen. I will give the Central Pacific just three months to discharge their Chinamen, and if it not be done, Stanford and his crowd will have to take the consequences.
>
> (qtd in Shumsky 175)

Despite the evident concern of San Francisco's elite—these comments resulted in an arrest and brief detention—no one ever was hanged on account of Kearney's rants. "All the statements that produced Kearney's first arrest in early November," Shumsky observes, "were phrased in precisely the same way: descriptions of situations as they would exist in the future, generally after another situation had come into existence" (177). In the excerpts just quoted, Kearney couches calls to violence in the language of condition, of what "will" happen "if" or "when" he gives an order. No direct and immediate order for violence ever was given.[55] Indeed, like many demagogues, Kearney was a jumble of contradictions. He claimed to represent the "workingman," yet he himself was a boss. His harangues jumped from the evils of the Chinese, to the evils of the corporate monopolies that encouraged the Chinese to come to America to work, and back again. Although he talked of lynching railway barons, it is said that Kearney craved the barons' company.[56] Kearney employed a bullets-to-ballot approach to unrest, his words absorbing the potentially violent thrust of the mob and redirecting it toward the political arena. His attribution of negative traits to the Chinese advanced a certain kind of politics. Keith Aoki writes that

> the "Yellow Peril" stereotype embodied Asians as a threat to Western civilization in general, and to the U.S. specifically. . . . [T]hese stereotypes were constructed within the U.S. and performed a double duty: they policed Asians within the U.S. and also served as a justification and rationalization for U.S. imperialism in Asia.
>
> (908 n.34)

Kearney thus acted on behalf of the state or at the very least in the state's interests. The WPC was a private initiative, an ideological state apparatus,[57] one that the racial state allowed to police the population.

The first test of the WPC's strength came when the legislature convened delegates from throughout the state to revise the original 1849 California Constitution. A special election was held in June 1878 (*Cal. Inv.* 3–4). Remarkably for a political neophyte, the WPC won the "second largest" delegation out of the six parties competing (5) and swept all thirty seats for San Francisco. Joining the city's delegates were twenty-two members from elsewhere in California so that the WPC contingent constituted about a third of all delegates. They bested Republican and Democratic candidates who had united with the sole aim of defeating the WPC. Establishment opponents

of the WPC objected in particular to the party's Irish component.[58] The *Alta* newspaper even professed to find a papish plot behind the party's success (Burchell 151). San Francisco elites no doubt feared the Kearney-WPC anti-capitalist rhetoric. But events at the Constitutional Convention would demonstrate that they need not have worried.

Other than pushing for a ban on Chinese employment and supporting the Granger program for tighter regulation of the railroads,[59] the WPC did little to advance its platform in the course of the convention, which lasted from late September 1878 till early March 1879. According to Saxton, WPC delegates lacked not so much competence as motivation: "They were simply content to be there—to draw their eight dollars per diem and mileage, to be accepted as responsible participants in the governmental process" (*Indispensable* 131). Shumsky adds that the new constitution "was totally without any shadow of reform" (209). Surely nothing in it brought material comfort to the WPC's eponymous constituency, workingmen.

While the California Convention proceeded, Kearney himself ventured eastward in search of a national platform. He met with some success. Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes granted him a fifteen-minute White House audience to discuss the Chinese labor issue, and as many as 5,000 persons gathered at Boston Common to hear Kearney give what was billed as "a sample of a sand lot meeting" (Kearney 10). The Boston address certainly had all the elements of a San Francisco original. There were calls to victory by means of "the paper knife—the ballot," coupled with threats to resort to "our bullets if our ballots fail" (Kearney 13). There was an appeal to a notion of citizenship that exempted non-whites from America's history—one that recognized no division among "Irish, English, Scotch, nor Dutch," as long as all were "honest workingmen" (Kearney 13). There was a linkage of the Chinese with dirt and germs, an association that rendered them "foreign" and unworthy to stay in America:

> Let me caution workingmen not to employ Chinese laundry men. They are filthy; they spit on clothes, and if they have any disease it is transmitted to men and women through such washed clothing when the body perspires. Do you want leprosy here? [Cries of 'No.'] By not employing them you can drive them from the country.
>
> (Kearney 13)[60]

There was, finally, Kearney's signature cry "The Chinese must go," delivered to prolonged applause. Yet in the end, Kearney failed to rouse a national anti-Chinese movement, perhaps because most urban centers outside of the West Coast had relatively few Chinese people.

Kearney's party would meet a similar fate even on the West Coast. City hall chicanery by the Democrats' Boss Buckley eventually outmaneuvered the upstart movement. Well before Kipling's 1889 visit, the WPC evaporated into the San Francisco fog, its members absorbed into America's two-party

electoral system.[61] By then, however, the WPC's anti-Chinese rhetoric had prodded more centrist politicians to produce extraordinary accounts of how society viewed the Chinese—and their rival ethnic group, the Irish.

"Filthier than the Five Points"

In 1876, anti-Chinese agitation reached such a fever pitch that California's State Senate launched an inquiry into "The Social, Moral, and Political Effect of Chinese Immigration." It charged a committee to gather evidence for "a memorial to the Congress of the United States," setting out "the policy and means of excluding Chinese from the country" (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 3). That the evidence might suggest accommodation rather than exclusion of the Chinese was not an option. This outcome was foreordained.

The committee heard testimony for fifteen days between April 11 and June 3 in both San Francisco and Sacramento (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 4, 154). The most aggressive questioning was reserved for the Chinese—fifteen out of a total of fifty-eight witnesses. The Chinese immigrant was, in effect, put on trial. A quarter of the non-Chinese who testified—eleven of forty-three—had Irish surnames. Indicative of the Irish presence in the state's repressive apparatus, this group included four police officers, a fire marshal, and a district attorney.[62] Of the seven men who served on the committee, at least two were Irish born: State Senator M. J. Donovan, former director of San Francisco's schools,[63] and State Senator Frank McCoppin, the city's former mayor.

McCoppin, in fact, was among the first senators to speak. He asked witness F. F. Low, former "Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States to the Emperor of China" (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 4), to explain why Hong Kong was the port from which most Chinese embarked for the United States. Low answered in the affirmative to McCoppin's question, "Don't the Chinese come from different parts of China to Hong-kong to take ships there, just as emigrants from England, Ireland, and Scotland used to go to Liverpool?" (5, original spelling). The senator well may have been recalling his own Green Atlantic crossing. In *The Irish Race in California*, an 1878 volume that exults in the achievements of the Irish in early California, the Rev. Hugh Quigley writes of McCoppin: "When about eighteen years of age, he bid adieu to the land of his nativity, and came with his parents on a sailing vessel to the United States, then the 'land of promise,' to most intelligent and educated young Irishmen" (356–57).[64]

The McCoppin-Low colloquy was the last to draw any sympathetic comparison between the Chinese and the Europeans. The committee appeared uninterested in the diplomat's contention that good relations with China benefited the US economy. In the days that followed, it paid far greater heed to self-avowed experts who expounded on the Chinese and prostitution, opium, gambling, marital relations, domestic habits, work ethic, and hygiene.[65]

Witnesses of Irish ancestry eagerly proffered such avowed expertise. They inveighed against the Chinese in California by use of stereotypes virtually identical with those used against the Irish in Britain and on the East Coast. Such a witness was George W. Duffield, who due to a dire shortage of police officers, had been deputized a Chinatown "Special Officer," paid not by the city but by local merchants (Mullen, *Chinatown* 41–42). Duffield enthralled the inquiry audience with detailed descriptions of the many brothels he had visited.[66] Voicing epithets that would becoming standard fare at Workingmen's Party of California speeches, the witness agreed with his questioner, State Senator Creed Haymond, that "the Chinese quarter as a whole . . . cannot be much dirtier" (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 47). The senator followed up with a reference to New York:

> Q.—Was there any part of that city, as existed twenty years ago, that could be compared with the Chinese quarter?
> A.—No, sir. The Five Points could not compare with it. The Chinese quarter is dirtier and filthier than the Five Points were.
> (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 47)

Early in the nineteenth century Black and Irish persons had "coexisted" in the Five Points, a Manhattan neighborhood mired in poverty (Hodges 113).[67] In 1842, from across the Atlantic, Charles Dickens had described the area as "reeking everywhere with dirt and filth. . . . Debauchery has made the very houses prematurely old. See how rotten beams are tumbling down, and how patched and broken windows seem to scowl dimly, like eyes that have been hurt in drunken frays" (*American* 99). In 1856, the year to which the Haymond-Duffield exchange refers, the Five Points was regarded as an overwhelmingly Irish enclave, its name synonymous with poverty, squalor, and immorality. The allusion no doubt made some Irish in the audience anxious. Likewise, Irish persons who read the committee's eventual report no doubt started at a listing that places the Irish high among California's foreign-born convicts—second only to prisoners born in China.[68] Yet the record does not reveal any overt linkages of Chinese and Irish; to the contrary, the state legislative inquiry operated to confirm the Irish as "whites" at the expense of "non-white" Chinese.

Even the four Protestant clergymen who testified reserved their bile for San Francisco's Chinese.[69] The Rev. J.H.C. Bonte declared it his mission to convert the heathen Chinese to Christianity but said that his task was difficult on account of his potential converts' low moral status. The very last question to this Episcopalian minister—the very last witness—hearkened to the committee's mandate of finding a way to keep the Chinese out of the United States. Senator Haymond asked about the "proposition to restrict immigration to ten on a ship," made by Aaron Augustus Sargent, a Republican who was then one of California's representatives in the US Senate (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 166). Bonte replied:

> It would be certainly a very desirable thing, if it can be done. If further immigration were stopped, I think that the churches, by a concerted

> action, could reach these Chinese here, and, perhaps, make our efforts in China of more avail. There is hardly a Chinaman here that has not been in from ten or twenty places on the coast, and it is very difficult to Christianize such roamers.
>
> (*Cal. Sen. Rpt.* 166)

California politicians had been experimenting with such restrictions for years.[70] The 1852 Immigrant Bonding Law required shipmasters to furnish a $500 bond for all alien passengers landing in California. An 1855 Capitation Tax Law imposed a $50 tax on the master or owner of a vessel for the landing of all passengers legally ineligible for state or federal citizenship; that is, most Chinese and other Asian passengers. An 1858 Chinese Exclusion Law was designed to preclude any "Chinese or Mongolians" to immigrate to California (*1858 Cal. Excl. Stat.*). An 1870 statute insisted that any "Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese femal[e]" entering California prove she was a "good person of correct habits and good character" (*Cal. 1870 Stat.*).[71] But these efforts had fallen short of keeping the Chinese out, not the least because the California Supreme Court struck down virtually every anti-Chinese statute it was asked to review.[72]

The 1876 state Senate committee hearings afforded a new approach. Armed with the anti-Chinese testimony, California's representatives in Washington, aided and abetted by San Francisco Mayor Andrew Jackson Bryant, pressured Congress to come West and see the problem for themselves (Saxton *Indispensable* 109–10). The federal inquiry would give the anti-Chinese Irish more attention than they had bargained for.

"If Romanism Were out of the Way"

Heeding the clamor out of California, Congress announced its own joint inquiry into Chinese immigration just weeks after the state's Senate inquiry had excused its final witness. The new committee comprised three US senators and three representatives—all of them WASPs and all, of course, men. Among them was Senator Sargent, the member of California's congressional delegation who had proposed a federal Chinese exclusion bill. The US investigation was more grandiose than California's effort[73] so that in the fall of 1876, the six Washington politicians decamped to San Francisco's luxurious Palace Hotel for a full two months of testimony and fine dining.

Many persons who had testified in the California inquiry also appeared before the federal committee, with one notable exception: Congress did not bother to call any Chinese witnesses. Left to plead the Chinese case were Colonel F. A. Bee and B. S. Brooks, the latter hired by the Chinese Six Companies.[74] The duo gave evidence, interrogated opponents, and called as their own witnesses a curious supporting cast: clergy bent on converting Chinese "heathens" and capitalists eager to exploit them.

Attendees on October 19, 1876, the second day of the proceedings, included three prominent San Francisco Irish Americans: John D. Condon, Joseph Monaghan, and M. Kelly, all leaders of San Francisco "anti-coolie" clubs.[75] A few days later, State Senator McCoppin himself appeared as a witness to recap the state inquiry and report (*US Cong. Rpt.* 9–11). Irish Americans nonetheless played a diminutive role in this investigation, forming only about a tenth of all witnesses. Unlike in the California state affair, moreover, the Irish found themselves targets of overt pejoratives in the federal proceedings. Thus a witness named Cornelius Mahony, called primarily to slander Chinese workers,[76] first parried a negative reference to Irish living standards, made by a lawyer for the Chinese. "I wish to say that I do not know that Mr. Brooks has been to Ireland, but I have been in Ireland and am an Irishman. He mentioned about pigs living on the same floor as peasants. The fact of the matter is that that is a mere travelers' tale" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 387). Mahony next diagnosed as "the true labor problem . . . not the cheapening of labor but its distribution" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 387). The cure, he continued, could be found "not in the bringing here of a worthless class to overwhelm white labor"—an obvious reference to the influx of Chinese—"but in taking men who have no employment back East and bringing them here, giving all our own people meat and bread, and enabling every man to bring up his children as good citizens" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 387). In Mahony's view, the worthy jobless were the Irish, "good citizens" and members of the "white labor" force.

But Mahony's imagining of the Irish differed greatly from that of one of the last witnesses to address the federal inquiry. Rev. Samuel Blakeslee, an orthodox Congregational minister and editor of the religious paper *The Pacific*, had written to warn the committee of the perils of Chinese immigration (*US Cong. Rpt.* 1241–43).[77] Witness Blakeslee also shared his views on persons he called "poor white trash" (1030), persons "who are really inferior to us; I mean whom we regard as inferior, to whom we consign the work" (1034). Pressed to name any "other race" he would include "in that category" (1035), Blakeslee complied:

> A. If I were to mention names, I believe the Americans generally regard the Irish as very much in that class, and very much inferior.
> Q. Is that your judgment?
> A. I believe if the priests were out of the way, if Romanism were out of the way, the Irish would be equal to any people on earth.
>
> (1035)[78]

Later, he reiterated that "we could elevate the Irishmen," many of whom "become imbued with American principles, American ideas, American enterprises, American tastes," becoming "assimilated" and "homogeneous" in a way that "the Chinese never will" (1035). That view did not comfort the reverend's inquisitor, who reasoned, "But Romanism is not out of the way, and not likely to be" (1035). If that was so, Blakeslee saw no hope for the

Irish: "Therefore they are, I think, inferior; inferior in intelligence, inferior in morality." The questioner pushed to equate the two groups:

> Q. You regard the presence of the Irish population therefore as injurious to some extent in the same way that the Chinese are injurious?
> A. I do, to some extent, in the same way; yet they can assimilate with us; they have sympathies in common with us. The Chinese are different in religion, different in tastes, different in habits, different in their clanish [sic] attachments, different in their race prejudices, and essentially different in their language. It is a language that we cannot acquire; it is impossible for us to acquire it. In all these things they are kept separate, and always will be distinct.
>
> (1035)

The questioner tried again: "You make the effect, therefore, of the Irish population and the Chinese population as differing only in degree?" Blakeslee parroted: "In degree" and "the same general effect" (1035). The reverend made clear that he would prefer to limit immigration not only by the Chinese but also by members of certain European Catholic groups, "especially the Irish" (1035).

Blakeslee and his cross-examiner were not alone in such views. Still another witness—West Evans, a manufacturer-distributor who favored importing Chinese labor—pinpointed the "Catholic Irish" as the source of all labor disputes (*US Cong. Rpt.* 721).[79] Such views demonstrated that the Catholic religion of most Irish remained an obstacle to acceptance as American nationals. Many non-Catholics persisted in seeing "Romanism" as un-American. Notably, however, they grounded their objections in cultural and not, as with the Chinese, in racial terms. They envisaged for the Irish a path to cultural assimilation that would complement the legal citizenship the Irish already enjoyed. The Irish rejected that proffered path, of conversion to Protestantism, and endeavored instead to secure for Catholicism a place in Americanism. That path was far more than WASPs begrudged members of the other ethnic group in question; these latter were denied legal citizenship as well as cultural acceptance. Even in this foul business the Irish were better off than the Chinese.

Fractionalized Society

Taken together, the two governmental reports reveal an inverse relationship between the pro-Irish and the anti-Chinese agendas. Each followed a similar route to success, permeating first the local, then the state, and finally the federal level of government. The fulcrum role played by the city of San Francisco puts in a new light a favorite catchphrase of an Irish American political legend: in his day, Speaker of the US House of Representatives Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill was wont to say, "All politics is local."[80]

Yet at all levels of government, economic and political actors displayed divisions dating to the Gold Rush era. Foreign relations fell under Washington's brief. Therefore, the federal governmental entities, unlike those in Sacramento, had to take into account Sino-American relations constructed over decades of extensive trade memorialized in multiple pacts: the 1868 Burlingame Treaty, for example, declares the right of US citizens to migrate to China and the reciprocal right of Chinese citizens to migrate to the United States (*Chae Chan Ping* 590). But as violence erupted on the streets, political stability required opponents to be heard. In effect, the US state had to mediate between warring fractions to ensure the long-term interests of the dominant classes.

The federal report in particular affirmed the desires for low-cost labor and high-profit, global commerce that led many elites to support Chinese immigration. Railroad baron Crocker even tried to convince the congressional committee that all white men had benefited. "[I]f you should drive these 75,000 Chinamen off you would take 75,000 white men from an elevated class of work and put them down to doing a low class of labor that the Chinamen are now doing," he insisted, "and instead of elevating you would degrade white labor to that extent" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 670). Crocker conjured an image of California as a free-soil haven:

> For any man to ride through California, from one end of this State to the other, and see the miles upon miles of uncultivated land, and in the mountains millions of acres of timber, and the foothills waiting for someone to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there being too much labor here in the country is simply nonsense in my estimation. There is labor for all, and the fact that the Chinamen are here gives an opportunity to white men to go in and cultivate this land where they could not cultivate it otherwise.
>
> (*US Cong. Rpt.* 670)

Despite such protestations, Americans at large opposed Chinese immigration. The 1877 federal report thus surveys nineteenth-century thinking, from racist pseudoscience to Darwinism, and condemns the Chinese as "[a]n indigestible mass in the community, distinct in language, pagan in religion, inferior in mental and moral qualities, and all peculiarities" (v). As a result of such "Sinophobic sentiment," Bill Ong Hing writes, treaty "provisions for free emigration were overrun by a series of laws that first limited and then entirely excluded Chinese from the United States" (22–23).

Most devastating was the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which not only curtailed immigration but also stated: "That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed" (Sec. 14). In no uncertain terms this 1882 act thus forbade any judge anywhere from granting American citizenship to any Chinese person. It soon was followed by further

congressional cutbacks on immigration in 1884 and again in 1888 (*Chae Chan Ping* 598–99). Asked to review this last statute in a case arising out of an ill-fated Yellow Pacific journey,[81] the US Supreme Court followed prior judges by expressing anti-Chinese sentiments yet departed from prior rulings that had vindicated the Chinese.[82]

In 1887, a Chinese laborer who had been working the United States for two years sailed home on the *Gaelic*, a steamship that had been built in Belfast, in the north of Ireland, and was operated by the railroad barons' Occidental & Oriental Steamship Company.[83] Returning the next year on the *Belgic*—another Belfast-made O. & O. vessel—the laborer, Chae Chan Ping,[84] discovered that as a result of US Chinese exclusion statutes, his papers no longer allowed him to disembark at San Francisco (*Chae Chan Ping* 582). In 1889 his bid for release from the *Belgic*'s brig reached the US Supreme Court, where all nine justices ruled against him and in favor of the federal exclusionary laws.

The unanimous opinion in *Chae Chan Ping* begins with a summary of Sino-American relations—a summary that its author, Justice Stephen Field of California,[85] was well disposed to deliver. Ten years earlier, Field had riled many when he and another judge ruled against San Francisco's sheriff, the Irish Famine immigrant Matthew Nunan,[86] who had cut off detainee Ho Ah Kow's queue pursuant to a city ordinance.[87] "We feel the force and importance" of concerns about Chinese immigration, the judges began yet insisted that resolution of the problem lay in the hands of the federal government and not in the hands of states or cities (*How Ah Kow* 255).[88] They continued with a passage sure to catch the eye of Sheriff Nunan and other Irish people: "During various periods of English history, legislation, general in its character, has often been enacted with the avowed purpose of imposing special burdens and restrictions upon Catholics" (*How Ah Kow* 255). Such legislation was "odious and obnoxious" (256). Thus the judges ruled that "in our country hostile and discriminating legislation by a state against persons of any class, sect, creed or nation, in whatever form it may be expressed, is forbidden by the fourteenth amendment of the constitution" (256).[89]

Field's 1879 willingness to invoke the Constitution against a city's anti-Chinese measures did not extend to the federal statute under review in 1889, however. In *Chae Chan Ping*, Field cites "the experience of years," which taught "that a limitation to the immigration of certain classes from China was essential to the peace of the community on the Pacific Coast, and possibility to the preservation of our civilization there" (594). Even after treaties accorded Chinese subjects the privileges of citizens of a "most favored nation," he continues, "they remained strangers in the land, residing apart by themselves, and adhering to the customs and usages of their own country. It seemed impossible for them to assimilate with our people" (595). Field adds that Chinese "competition with our artisans and mechanics, as well as our laborers in the field," had led to "open conflicts, to the great disturbance of the peace" (594–95). These last comments underscore the shift in federal

political winds after passage of the US statutes excluding immigration from Asia. Rejecting the argument that "it was not within the power of Congress to prohibit Chinese laborers who had at the time departed from the United States, or should subsequently depart, from returning to the United States" (603), Field, on behalf of himself and his eight brethren, granted Congress broad discretion "to exclude foreigners from the country, whenever, in its judgment, the public interests require such exclusion" (606–07).

Just as an Irishman Sheriff Nunan had influenced the judiciary's "experience" of anti-Chinese measures, an Irish American played a key role in a draconian 1892 law; indeed the law was sponsored by US Representative Thomas Geary, a Democrat from Sonoma County just north of San Francisco.[90] The Geary Act's onerous identification and registration requirements won approval in an 1893 US Supreme Court judgment.[91] Pfaelzer argues that the Supreme Court "gave Congress power to decide who was a 'person,' undermining the Fourteenth Amendment's protections of 'all persons.' Because the Chinese were no longer 'persons' they lost any 'absolute right to remain' " (304). In essence, legislation that Geary had spearheaded defined Chinese people as bare life, as nonpersons in the eyes of the state: in Giorgio Agamben's terms, the Chinese had been included in US law solely so that they could be excluded from it.

In Service of, and Served by, the State

Exacerbating the sordid history of abuse against persons of Chinese ancestry is the account of the Irish role in that abuse. Rabble-rousers like Denis Kearney, centrist politicians like Frank McCoppin, and unnamed thousands of Irish agitated against Chinese labor and for Chinese exclusion. This fact begs the question: Why? Why is it that the Irish felt so threatened that some of them resorted to bloodthirsty calls for violence—and, on occasion, to violence itself? In an effort to answer these questions, I have studied what statistics are available for this era. In so doing, I have examined resources that to my knowledge no other researcher has used in this manner; to be precise, I analyzed four texts that, taken together, demonstrate a high level of Irish Americanization in late nineteenth-century San Francisco: *The San Francisco Municipal Reports* for fiscal years 1878–1879 and 1879–1880, along with Henry G. Langley's *San Francisco Directory* for 1879 and 1880. These texts demonstrate that whereas most failed to amass the kind of wealth that the Irish Four Silver Kings enjoyed, many San Francisco Irish became Americans by placing themselves in the service of the state's repressive apparatuses. That emplacement ought to have rendered the Irish impervious to threats from Chinese laborers. But the texts also reveal the underbelly of the Irish in San Francisco and thus underscore anxieties that no doubt fed Irish hostility toward members of that rival ethnic group.

Let us turn first to census statistics. Table 6.1 bears out the allegation that the number of Chinese in San Francisco mushroomed between 1852 and

1880, from 3,500 to 21,790 persons. Yet that table also shows that the Chinese population dipped between 1852 and 1860 before beginning to move on a steady upward path. In every census, moreover, the numbers of Chinese were dwarfed by the numbers of San Francisco Irish. Those numbers were closest in 1852—3,500 Chinese compared to 5,600 Irish—but far apart by 1880—21,790 Chinese compared to 78,421 Irish. At no time did the Chinese constitute even 10 percent of San Francisco's population, whereas the percentage of Irish leaped from 15.5 percent in 1852 to 33.5 percent in 1880.[92] The far greater proportion of Irish persons, coupled with the fact that Irish families easily could reproduce whereas Chinese men consigned to bachelorhood could not,[93] astounds the reader familiar with the ostensible cause for the nineteenth-century anti-Chinese ferment.

Next, consider the composition of repressive state apparatuses in San Francisco. Police, fire, jail, and public works departments excluded Chinese applicants altogether yet welcomed the Irish. Thus did the state, by means of public-sector employment, play an active role in the Americanization of the Irish. The Irish thus helped to embody the anti-Chinese policing function that Aoki theorizes.[94] Indeed, the Irish population surge coincided with a growth period for policing. According to an 1879 San Francisco directory, California's legislature voted in 1878 to let San Francisco "increase the police force in their discretion to any number not exceeding four hundred in all" (Langley, *1879* 1057). Expressing concern that Kearney-led lawlessness threatened the system of social and economic control was the state senator after whom the law was named, Frank McCoppin, who had served as San Francisco's first Irish-born mayor.[95] As a result of the McCoppin Act, the number of San Francisco police jumped from 172 to 329 in a single year (*S. F. Mun. Rpt. 1889–80* 284). By the end of 1880, Police Chief Patrick Crowley could report with satisfaction that the department had reached its goal of 400 members (*S. F. Mun. Rpt. 1889–80* 284).

Crowley was an Irish American, as were 152 of the 329 officers listed in *The Municipal Report of 1878–79*.[96] Fully 109 of these were born in Ireland, thirty-eight in the United States, and five in Canada, Australia, or elsewhere.[97] Clearly the Irish, most of whom were Catholic, had swelled the ranks with Hibernian zeal. They dominated San Francisco's Police Department, as they had since it was launched in 1849 by the appointment of the first chief, Athlone-born Malachi Fallon. Indeed the department's website notes that between 1850 and 1899, the city had ten chiefs, five of whom were Irish.[98] When Crowley was appointed to his second stint as chief at the end of 1879,[99] he joined Irish-born clerks William Cullen and Alfred Clarke as the three highest-paid members of the force (Langley, *1879* 1054). At a time when the WPC spurred anti-Chinese violence, the Irish policed both sides of the barricades.

Among Chief Crowley's first 1879 initiatives was to set up a Chinatown Squad in response to public concern that the merchant-paid special officers—like George Duffield, witness at the federal inquiry—were corrupt

(Mullen, *Chinatown Squad* 53).[100] That squad, like the department in general, had a decidedly Irish bent, and at least one of its members attained a reputation as a violent individual unafraid to use illegal methods to discipline the community.[101]

Policing was not the exclusive realm of the city's department. According to Jason Kaufman, until 1903, defense in the United States "was loosely divided between federal, state, and *independent* militias" (88; original emphasis). My research reveals significant Irish participation in such forces. Six companies of the San Francisco-based Second Brigade of the Third Infantry Regiment of the California National Guard—to be precise, companies named the McMahon, the Shields, the Montgomery, the Wolfe Tone, the Meagher, and the Emmet Life Guards—comprised 329 soldiers, almost all of them Irish. The same was true in two of the five companies of the First Battalion Cavalry, the forty-eight-man Jackson Dragoons and the 149-man Union Guard. Although operating outside the National Guard, these units typically received financial support from state or local authorities. They met regularly, dressed in fancy uniforms, drilled, and then drank with gusto.[102] Irish militias and National Guard units exemplified Irish worthiness to full American citizenship; furthermore, as Kaufman speculates, the presence of so many armed Irish men may have deterred nativist, anti-Irish violence (95).

Other city departments likewise provided employment. Of the 279 firefighters listed in the 1879 *Municipal Reports*, 149 bore Irish surnames; many of the fire companies were composed entirely of Irish men (308–37). Ten of the twenty men who held the title of sheriff between 1850 and 1899 were Irish American; Sheriff Nunan and at least four others were natives of Ireland.[103] Once Cork-born Fenian hero Tomas Desmond was elected sheriff in 1879 on the WPC ticket,[104] Irish Americans occupied the three highest-paid positions in his department. In 1880 twelve of the twenty-one deputies had Irish surnames; out of fifteen jailers, ten were Irish, including Matron Kate Sheehan, who earned $600 per annum, a third of the salary the city paid the men who cleaned her jail (Langley, *1880* 1084). The Irish further occupied positions at all branches of the civil service in California, at local, state, and federal levels, and they were prominent in the teaching corps.[105] By 1880, then, many Irish in San Francisco had arrived, their hold on US citizenship defined as much by who they were not—they were not Chinese—as who they were. These facts again beg the question of why the Chinese made many Irish so anxious.

An answer may be found in the two *Municipal Reports* and the two *Directories* under review, for the data there reveal that even though certain Irish men and women enjoyed prosperity and prestige in San Francisco during this time, many more encountered nothing but hardships, hunger, and miserable deaths.

The city's indigent often found their way to the alms house in the Laguna Honda neighborhood, which housed 938 persons in 1878–1879. Nearly half of the foreign-born inmates—249 out of 505—were Irish (*S. F. Mun. Rpts.*

1878–79 293–94).[106] A total of 928 US-born patients were admitted to the city's hospitals; the count of Germans was 369, whereas Irish-born admittees numbered a staggering 964 persons (*S. F. Mun. Rpts. 1878–79*, 260). Orphans and young offenders were held in the government-supported, Irish-run Magdalen Asylum.[107] "Irish fill the almshouses and prisons and orphan asylums," complained Chinese immigrant Lee Chew (Chew 184–85).[108]

In fact, 210 of San Francisco's 446 foreign-born, adult prisoners were Irish—nearly twice the Chinese continent of 125 and over four times the German contingent of forty-seven (*S. F. Mun. Rpts. 1878–79*, 734). Crimes often were blamed on the "hoodlums,"[109] many of whom were Irish immigrants' children who reserved their worst venom for the Chinese (Mullen, *Dangerous* 53). An official of the Chinese Protection Society formed to defend San Francisco's Chinese put it bluntly: "It is a significant fact in this connection that every person arrested is an Irishman and the children who give the officers the most trouble are of Irish parentage" (qtd in Mullen, *Dangerous* 55). The stereotype of combative Irish men—sons of Erin fighting in the street, to recall Sweet's 1853 poem[110]—thus remained a vibrant presence in San Francisco's cultural imaginary well into the late 1800s.

Irish victimization also ran high. Mullen estimates that between 1860 and 1900, Irish-surnamed people constituted 48 percent of San Francisco's criminal homicide victims (46). In 1878–1879, most of the foreign-born corpses subjected to autopsy—a procedure common in criminal cases—were Irish.[111] Irish persons likewise topped the category of foreign-born deaths regardless of the cause of demise.[112] More vivid than numbers, moreover, is the list of Irish decedents' effects:

> Aug. 30. T.H.A. McCarthy, seventy-five cents, pocketknife, comb, cigar holder and two shells. . . . Delivered to Lizzie McCarthy, sister of deceased.
> Nov. 7. Ann M. Barry. One dollar, fifteen cents (coin), two door keys, passbook. . . . Delivered to Richard Barry, husband of deceased.
> Nov. 26. Joanna Murphy; gold ring delivered to her husband.
> Mar 2. 1879. Michael McBride, ten cents and papers. Delivered to City Treasurer Hubert.
> April 21. Catherine O'Rourke, fifty cents . . .
> Apr. 30. Timothy O'Sullivan, 25 cents, pocketknife, rosary and Bulldozer No. 2 revolver . . .
>
> (*S. F. Mun. Rpts. 1878–79* 142–55)

These terse entries expose an existential source for Irish anxieties. Fear that the loss of work might return them to the desperate existence that Famine emigrants had fled made many Irish susceptible to allegations that an "Other"—in San Francisco, the Chinese worker—was responsible for all social and economic ills. Contrary to the conventional Marxist view that holds that the proletariat forms the basis of the revolutionary vanguard

against reactionary rule, investigation of the Irish in California reveals that the proletariat, the class with nothing to lose but everything to fear, was perhaps the most reactionary and racist of all the classes. Denis Kearney performed the ideological work of the racial state as part and parcel of the embrace of an American identity bound up with white entitlement. It would require activists quite unlike Kearney to present the Irish with an inclusive, rather than exclusionary, way of living in America.

Notes

1. The estimate for the number of Irish workers on the transcontinental railroad was culled from R. O'Connor, Ch. 2 and Ch. 3; the Chinese figure is taken from Takaki, *Different Mirror* (197). For a valuable account of this project, see the 2003 "American Experience" PBS documentary, *Transcontinental Railroad*.
2. On this distinction between American nationality, or cultural acceptance, and US citizenship, first made possible in the 1790 Naturalization Act, see Ch. 1.
3. See "Driving the Last Spike." For an analysis of the photography of the Promontory Point ceremony, see Eng, Ch. 1.
4. See the introduction with respect to this metaphor and theories of the US racial state.
5. Oscar Lewis's *Big Four*, a 1938 account of the transcontinental railroad as a site for Irish-Chinese clashes, remains the preeminent authority on the building of the Central Pacific Railroad's western portion of the track. A 2008 volume, Richard Rayner's *The Associates: Four Capitalists who Created California*, relies heavily on Lewis's work. Two more recent monographs add more to the scholarship: Richard White's *Railroaded* (2011) investigates maneuvers behind the building of all the nineteenth-century transcontinental railroad projects in North America, whereas Dennis Drabelle's *The Great American Railroad War* (2012) treats the anti-oligarch campaign of San Francisco-based writers Ambrose Bierce and Frank Norris.
6. Elected in 1862, Stanford would serve a two-year term as California's first Republican governor. From 1885 until his death in 1893, he represented California as a US senator. See Lewis, *Four* (156–92).
7. The visionary engineer, Connecticut-born Theodore Judah, initially served as chief engineer on the project, but he and his four partners did not get along. Judah died after contracting yellow fever during a voyage to New York in search of capitalists who would buy out their investment. See Lewis, *Four* (3–48). In San Francisco, a major thoroughfare and streetcar line bear his name.
8. See Lewis, *Four* (354–412).
9. The Irish origins of each man predate the Great Famine. O'Brien was born near Dublin in 1825 and emigrated as a boy; he died in California in 1878. Flood was born in 1826 in New York to Irish immigrant parents; he died in Germany in 1889. Fair was born in northern Ireland in 1831, emigrated in 1843, and died in San Francisco in 1894. Mackay was born in 1831 in Dublin, emigrated in 1840, and died in New York in 1902. See Lewis, *Silver Kings*. As an indicator of their importance in late nineteenth century, the Irish Four reportedly stood next to the WASP Big Four at the 1869 Golden Spike ceremony (Dowling, *Irish Californians* 198). Also there was another Irish-born San Franciscan of wealth, banker James Phelan (*ibid*.)
10. For a facsimile of the original act, bearing Lincoln's signature, see https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/PacificRailwayActof1862.pdf. On the Union defeat, see Lash (53–54).

11. See Ch. 1 of this volume.
12. See also Takaki, *Strangers* (85). Stanford's colleague, Crocker, had a similar epiphany. "We can't get enough white labor to build this railroad, and build it we must, so we are forced to hire them," he is said to have informed his white workers, adding: "If you can't get along with them we have only one alternative. We'll let you go and hire nobody but them" (Takaki, *Different Mirror* 197).
13. The Chinese Six Companies is known in Chinese as *Zhonghua Huiguan*. It is also known as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. Founded in San Francisco in the early 1860s, the entity was composed of a half-dozen "companies" charged with looking after the welfare of their members; geographic or familial ties guided each member's choice of a *huighuan*. In effect, the Six Companies managed the internal affairs of Chinese America. See Chen (71–73).
14. By contrast, only about a thousand Irish are believed to have worked on the Central Pacific line. Most of these Irish performed supervisory roles (R. O'Connor 82). Presumably, Irish men already in the West preferred the still potentially lucrative occupation of gold prospector.
15. On Green Atlantic crossings, see the introduction and Ch. 1 of this volume.
16. See Roediger, *Wages* (85–87). On so-called Jacksonian democracy, see the introduction to this volume.
17. See also Pfaelzer (8).
18. Johnson and Hing write that this "discriminatory foreign miners tax" resulted in "the expulsion of many Latina/os" from the United States (1370).
19. "The nickname," Chang writes, "grew out of Chinese claims of being part of a celestial kingdom" (46*n*).
20. A paragraph introducing the song "John Chinaman," discussed in the text quotes an 1851 *Alta* dispatch that called the Chinese "'excellent citizens." In the same year, San Francisco's mayor and other dignitaries attended a meeting "for the purpose of welcoming the 'China Boys'" (Guinn et al. 211). For another account of the role of the Gold Rush in bringing the Chinese to California, see the judicial decision, to be discussed later in the chapter, *Chae Chan Ping* (594).
21. These figures are presented in tabular form later in this chapter. See Table 6.1.
22. "John Chinaman," in Guinn et al. (211).
23. On still other measures, see Chang (42).
24. On the 1790 Naturalization Act, see the introduction. Takaki writes that the foreign miners' tax "remained in force until the 1870 Civil Rights Act voided it" and adds that "California had collected five million dollars from the Chinese, a sum representing 25 to 50 percent of all state revenue" (*Different Mirror* 195).
25. Figures illustrated later in this chapter suggest that San Francisco may not have been the first destination of these Chinese, for between 1852 and 1860 the city's Chinese population dropped in absolute numbers and in percentage of overall population. See Table 6.1. The statistics must be viewed with care, given abiding questions about the accuracy of those counts. In any event, Table 6.1 demonstrates marked growth in San Francisco's Chinese population in the decades after the 1860 census.
26. See Starr, *Americans* (94); see also Ch. 4 of this volume.
27. See also J. Walsh, *San Francisco Irish*.
28. This image of opacity represents quite an advance upon Poulantzas's earlier position, which regarded the state as the clear and identifiable cement holding together the social formation. For more on the difference between the early and late works of Poulantzas, see Hall, "Nicos."
29. See Ch. 1 of this volume.

30. For glowing, completely uncritical accounts of these Irish millionaires, see Prendergast's *Irish Pioneers*, along with two books by Dowling: *California, The Irish Dream* and *Irish Californians: Historic, Benevolent, Romantic*. The titles say it all. For examples of Irish financial support of the Catholic Church in San Francisco, see Burchell (9–11). It is to be noted that not all donors were rich; contributions from Irish women in domestic service provided significant support. See Ch. 5 of this volume.
31. Scott draws these quotes from Kipling, *Sea* (I: 274, 306–07).
32. On Kipling's musings about San Francisco Irish women during this same visit, see Ch. 5.
33. Kipling letter to Mrs. Guthrie. I am grateful to the Special Collections Research Center of Syracuse University Libraries for furnishing me a photocopy of this letter. See also Gilmour (242). Although Kim's search for identity unfolds on a higher literary plane, his racial duality recalls a much cruder predecessor, Patsy O'Wang. See Ch. 5.
34. The family of Christopher Augustine Buckley fled the Irish Famine shortly after his birth in 1845 (Callow 261). Buckley moved from New York to San Francisco in 1862. He quickly established himself among those political activists who frequented the Snugg, a saloon located under the Opera House—itself run by Tom Maguire, an Irish immigrant's son who had arrived in San Francisco from New York in the Gold Rush year of 1849 and who would reign for decades as the city's prime impresario. See deFord; Berson; and Estavan. Buckley eventually bought his own tavern and became so fond of sampling his product that he lost his eyesight due to his alcoholism (Callow 263). Nevertheless, as the passage from Kipling attests, Buckley was able to seize control of the San Francisco Democratic Party. For more on Buckley, see Bullough.
35. An earlier U.S. senator had been Irish California's first major politician. Born in Washington, D.C., to Irish immigrant parents, David Broderick was active in Tammany Hall Democratic politics before the Gold Rush lured him to San Francisco. Elected in 1856 to serve as one of California's two representatives in the US Senate, Broderick held that post until a fatal duel in 1859. See Sarbaugh (162); Saxton, *Rise* (205–12). For more on this period in San Francisco's history, see Lotchin's *San Francisco, 1846–56* and Mullen's *Let Justice Be Done*.
36. See Dowling, *Irish Dream* (111); Dowling, *Irish Californians* (198). See also Burchell (7, 134). Conness, the namesake of a locomotive, was said to have been "the first to promote the idea of a transcontinental railway" (Dowling, *Irish Dream* 111). He had served from to 1863 to 1869; his Democratic successor, Casserly, would serve from 1869 to 1873. Downey, a pro-Union Democrat, had served from 1860 to 1862 and remained active in politics after his term ended. McCoppin would remain San Francisco's mayor until December 1869; his election in 1867 had occurred "eighteen years before Hugh O'Brien became mayor of Boston and thirteen years before William Grace became mayor of New York" (Sarbaugh 162). In stark contrast, San Francisco would not welcome a mayor of Chinese heritage until Ed Lee was installed in 2011. See Guillermo.
37. In her 1909 treatise, *Chinese Immigration*, Mary Roberts Coolidge observes: "The preponderance of Irish names in the leadership mobs, anti-coolie clubs, persons arrested for attacks upon the Chinese, and also among legislators and municipal officers, bears witness to the rapidity of their assimilation—but it was a great misfortune to the Chinaman" (270).
38. Then a year old, the national group would evolve into the SLP.
39. On competition between Chinese men and Irish women in the laundering business, see Ch. 5.

40. For a succinct discussion of the changing economy in 1870s San Francisco, see Shumsky, Ch. 4. On the move away from a "producer ethic" and toward what might be called a "manufacturing ethic," see Saxton, *Indispensable* (51–53).
41. This doggerel is discussed in Ch. 5.
42. See the introduction of this volume.
43. On the use of the term "coolie" to connote servility and constraint—the opposites of free white labor—see the introduction and Ch. 5 of this volume. See also Nee (52).
44. For example, Mayor McCoppin, Governor Downey, and Senator Casserly all were Democrats unaffiliated with the WPC (Burchell 148).
45. An example is Father Joseph Gallagher, who a few months after the attacks on Chinatown, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* of his dismay at the WPC. "[A]lthough the Church is now and always has been the advocate and firm friend of the laboring classes, still he could not say that it sanctioned the incendiary speeches of communist orators," the newspaper reported. Labeling "their utterances as wild and irresponsible," Gallagher "remarked, with emphasis, that the Church would not countenance any acts of violence or rapine" ("The Knotty Problem," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 3, 1877, 1). Riordan describes Gallagher as a "zealous secular priest" (148). But the cleric's call for order among the Irish Catholic working classes bears echo with the ecclesiastical edicts of New York's old archbishop, John Hughes. See Ch. 2.
46. *Bishop's 1877 San Francisco Directory* notes the location of the Hibernia Hall was 246 Third Street. By 1900, it had moved to 120 Ninth Street, according to the *San Francisco City Directory.* I am grateful to Thomas Carey of the San Francisco Public Library for providing this information.
47. At a September 1877 meeting, for example, State Senator Philip A. Roach reminded those who packed Union Hall that seven years before, in the Mechanics' Pavilion, "10,000 men marched into that vast hall to protest the displacement of 500 young women to make room for the Chinese" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 9/22/1877, 1). The September 22, 1877, *San Francisco Examiner*—the paper that Roach edited—reported that speech with slight variations. The *Examiner* published not a single word of the speech by Denis Kearney, the WPC firebrand described in this chapter; in contrast, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which favored the WPC, gave Kearney's harangue the full treatment.
48. "Twelve Hundred More" (1877), qtd in R. Lee (62–63). On the 1850s American song that tells of fatal eviction, failed rebellion, and promised payback—"Revenge for Skibbereen!"—see the discussion and reprinted verses in Ch. 4 of this volume. Consideration of "Twelve Hundred More" in light of "Skibbereen" exposes nuance. Militant Irish nationalism lurks below the former, a surface text that is explicit in its militancy against the Chinese. In "Twelve Hundred More" Irish nationalism thus is linked, not for the first time, "to the construction of a racially exclusive white American nationalism" (R. Lee 64).
49. Available evidence regarding the WPC similarly leads Burchell to muse: "If the Irish did not comprise the bulk of membership, it is difficult to see who did" (150). Although the majority of persons who joined in WPC activities were men, women also took part. See Ch. 5.
50. For more on the latter activist, who receives brief mention in Ch. 6, see Roney's autobiography, subtitled *Irish Rebel and California Labor Leader*.
51. See, for example, Starr, *Endangered* (10).
52. Saxton states Kearney's age at emigration at sixteen (*Indispensable* 117). But his obituary in *The New York Times* says that he was only eleven when he came to the United States. "Denis Kearney Dead: He Headed the 'Sand Lot' Agitation against the Chinese," *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1907, 9, *available at*

http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9C01EED6123EE033A25755C2A9629C946697D6CF.

53. "Denis Kearney Dead: He Headed the 'Sand Lot' Agitation against the Chinese," *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1907, 9, *available at* http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9C01EED6123EE033A25755C2A9629C946697D6CF.
54. Each of the succeeding speeches, drawn from local news reporters' transcriptions and published as a book in 1878, is presented with the realization that it is a secondhand text—that in each, a reporter has interceded between the speaker and his audience. This intervention may be of little consequence here, however, given that the excerpts are consistent with Kearney speeches that appear elsewhere, including the published collection that Kearney himself approved.
55. Soon after his arrest, for example, Kearney stated that "by organizing they were endeavoring to prevent any riots from growing out of the movement" (qtd in Shumsky 179).
56. Shumsky sums up Kearney thus:

> As early as the 1880s, he was on friendly terms with Leland Stanford. Jane Stanford later recalled how the erstwhile drayman 'became an ardent, most devoted and loyal friend' of her husband. . . . Kearney himself knew William H. Crocker, the banker son of Charles, and he occasionally dropped in at the Crocker Bank 'to see his good friend Will.' . . . Denis Kearney was a man who wanted to do well; he sought money, culture, and the company of successful men.
>
> (56)

He died a wealthy man in his bay area home in 1907, a Famine-Irish-immigrant-to-the-American-racial-state success story.

57. On the origin of this concept, see the introduction. "The state apparatuses," Nico Poulantzas explains, "consecrate and reproduce hegemony by bringing the power bloc and certain dominated classes into a (variable) game of provisional compromises. The state apparatuses organize—unify the power bloc by permanently disorganizing—dividing the dominated classes, polarizing them towards the power bloc, and short circuiting their own political organizations" (*State* 140). Playing a crucial role in the nineteenth-century San Francisco "game of provisional compromises" was Kearney. His achievement was to ensure the power bloc's dominance by diverting the threat that the mob posed into structures that the state had developed to absorb such energy of mass protest, that is, the channels of political democracy. Agitation through these channels blunted the cutting edge of the masses of demonstrators, short-circuited initial electoral successes of his WPC, and rendered the Democratic Party a primary ideological state apparatus. Like Kearney, politicians in the mainstream parties harnessed mob energy for their own ends; moreover, through the state-controlled electoral structures that favored two dominant fractions of the power bloc, they pursued a policy of racial exclusion that reinforced the class system.
58. The Irish-born among the WPC Convention delegates—20 percent—exceeded the Irish-born population of San Francisco at the time—13.1 percent (Burchell 3). Nevertheless, in Burchell's view, representation was "unrepresentatively slight" given the Irish presence in the WPC (150). In contrast, three of San Francisco's six state senators—50 percent—and five of the city's thirteen state representatives—38 percent—were Irish (*ibid.*)
59. Founded in the 1860s by Oliver Hudson Kelley, the Grange movement was an organization of farmers united against the power of the monopolies and large

corporations whose policies threatened farming communities across the United States. For further details, see Woods.

60. WPC orators, Wendy Rouse Jorae writes, often "insisted that Chinese servants and laundrymen carried germs into the households of white families, creating 'a perfect network of contagion and infection' " (93, internal quotation marks omitted) She adds: "The presence of Chinese men and boys in their neighborhoods—often in their very homes—aroused deep-seated racial tensions and fears in some whites. In addition to the economic argument, anti-Chinese rhetoric depicted Chinese laborers as a source of disease and a moral threat to white women and children" (*ibid*.)
61. In 1888, Kearney attempted a comeback as an anti-Chinese agitator before a US Congressional committee. "Not being successful in the East," his *New York Times* reports, "he denounced several members on the committee and gave up his work." "Denis Kearney Dead: He Headed the 'Sand Lot' Agitation against the Chinese," *New York Times*, Apr. 26, 1907, 9, *available at* http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9C01EED6123EE033A25755C2A9629C946697D6CF.
62. On the concept of repressive apparatus, see the introduction.
63. "Historical Abstract." See also Burchell (143).
64. As discussed in Ch. 3, Quigley, a follower of New York Archbishop John Hughes, is better known for the novels he wrote for an Irish Catholic American readership.
65. On the repetition of such anti-Chinese charges in songs, plays, and cartoons, as well as Irish concerns that similar charges might be levied against them, see Ch. 5 of this volume.
66. Kevin Mullen, a criminologist and historian who served in the SFPD for more than a quarter-century, unearthed evidence that Duffield himself was in league with the owners of various houses of vice in Chinatown. See Mullen's *Chinatown Squad* (42).
67. This neighborhood also is mentioned in Ch. 2 of this volume.
68. An annex to the report titled "Nativity of Convicts" notes that as of June 14, 1876, California State Prison housed 198 Chinese and ninety-eight Irish inmates. The next-highest number, forty-nine, came from "England"; given that Ireland then was still subject to the British Act of Union discussed in the introduction to this volume, it is likely that some of those forty-nine inmates also were of Irish ancestry. See *Cal. Sen. Rpt.* (173).
69. One, the Rev. Otis Gibson, a former missionary in China, did have one or two positive things to say on behalf of the Chinese. See *Cal. Sen. Rpt.* (25–35).
70. This listing of discriminatory legislation is derived from a research project of the University of California Hastings College of the Law. Precise citations for these statutes may be found in the bibliography to this chapter.
71. This statute was a precursor to its federal counterpart, the Page Act of 1875, discussed in Ch. 5.
72. See *State of California v. The Steamship " Constitution"* (1872) (declaring *Cal. Immigrant Bonding Law* unconstitutional), *People v. Downer* (1857) (invalidating 1855 *Cal. Capitation Tax Law*), and *Lin Sing v. Washburn* (1862) (holding unconstitutional two state laws, the *1858 Cal. Excl. Stat.* and the 1862 *Anti-Coolie Act*).
73. A hefty tome that reflected the committee's bloated sense of its own importance, the federal report ran to more than 1,200 pages, about seven times longer than its measly 173-page California counterpart. Fully 128 federal witnesses were heard, more than twice the number in the California investigation. Compare *Cal. Sen. Rpt.* with *US Cong. Rpt.*
74. Bee, a New York native of English-Scottish ancestry, had set sail in 1848 for San Francisco on same twenty-two-month voyage as James Flood, one of the Irish

Four Silver Kings. Bee was appointed—not hired—as an attorney to represent Chinese by US Sen. Oliver P. Morton of Indiana. By 1892, Bee was serving as consul to China in San Francisco, having been appointed by China's emperor the year after the congressional inquiry. See *The Bay of San Francisco:* vol. II, 491–93.

75. Representing the city of San Francisco, along with Mayor Bryant, was Frank Pixley (*US Cong. Rpt.* 2). On Pixley, an outspoken nativist who published the city's influential *Argonaut* newspaper, see Bullough (170–71).
76. Once the operator of a smelting business in Peru, Mahony had been asked to testify about Chinese presence in that South American country. He informed the committee that Chinese men were physically too weak to carry out the work of white men. He questioned their sexual orientation. "They were in point of fact sodomites," he pronounced. Wanting to be sure of what he had heard, California's Senator Sargent asked, "You speak of the crimes committed among them in the absence of women. What did you refer to, sodomy?" and received this answer: "Yes, of the worst kind" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 383). On this last point, no further clarification was requested. Mahony's testimony evokes the "gender laundering" of Chinese men analyzed in Ch. 5 of this volume.
77. No mention of Blakeslee appears in the record of the California Senate committee. Perhaps he did not write to it. Or perhaps he did, but the state's Irish American politicians denied him a platform to air his anti-Catholic, anti-Irish views.
78. In the record printed in 1877, "Q." questions and "A." answers appear in the same paragraph, separated only by a dash. Here and elsewhere, for ease of reading I have given each side of the colloquy a distinct paragraph.
79. When Evans complained to the committee that he had trouble with his men "only during political campaigns" (*US Cong. Rpt.* 721), lawyer Bee inquired further:

> Q. What trouble did you have?
> A. O, men get dissatisfied; and that is the time generally when they are opposed to Chinamen.
> Q. Do they find someone to lead them at those times?
> A. Undoubtedly.
>
> (*ibid.*)

Representing the Chinese, Bee saw an opportunity to turn the tables of racism back on the Irish. He asked Evans to name the "class of people" who "generally lead them on," and without delay Evans pointed his finger at the Irish: "I never had any trouble with white men except with the Irish. I never had any Americans or Germans or Scandinavians to meddle with the Chinamen at all" (*ibid.*). Bee then pursued the religion question:

> Q. Protestant Irish?
> A. No, sir; Catholic Irish.
> Q. The Protestant Irish do not seem to interfere with them in any part of the State?
> A. They never have with me; I never heard of their interfering with Chinamen.
> Q. Then from what source does this opposition to the Chinese arise, in your opinion periodically?
> A. It comes from politicians and this class I speak of.
>
> (*ibid.*)

80. See Tip O'Neill and Gary Hymel, *All Politics Is Local.*
81. On the concept of the "Yellow Pacific," see the introduction to this volume.
82. "Ironically enough," Thomas Wuil Joo writes, "even the federal judiciary, which upheld Chinese rights and struck down anti-Chinese state and local laws, often reflected the same sentiment. These judges often openly espoused the same racist beliefs that initially motivated state and local lawmakers to pass the laws; they sometimes aired these views in the very opinions that vindicated Chinese rights" (357).
83. On the laborer's journey, see *Chae Chan Ping* (582). In describing the origins of the company known as the O. & O., Kemble writes that both the *Gaelic* and the *Belgic*, mentioned later in this account, were constructed in "the yards of Harland and Wolff, of Belfast" (348). "On December 13, 1904, the 'Gaelic' sailed through the Golden Gate on her last voyage to the Orient" (356–67).
84. The attorney representing Chae Chan Ping throughout his unsuccessful bid to avoid deportation was Thomas D. Riordan. This Irish American, whom Jean Pfaelzer describes as "an aggressive San Francisco attorney" (209), fought on behalf of the Chinese on many occasions. But among Irish Americans of that era, Riordan was more the exception than the rule.
85. A Connecticut lawyer, Field had gone to California in the first year of the Gold Rush, established himself initially as a justice of the peace, then as a Republican state senator, and ultimately as the state's chief justice, a position he held until 1863, when President Lincoln placed him on the federal Supreme Court.
86. Born in Limerick about 1828, Nunan was seventeen when the Famine began. Eventually he emigrated to North America, arriving in California in 1855. After a trip back East to marry Delia Horan, he settled in San Francisco, where he established Hibernian Brewery and served two terms as sheriff. Nunan died in 1916, at age eighty-eight, still active in brewery trade associations. See Bancroft (749); "Doings on the Pacific Coast" (165).

    Ho Ah Kow's lawyer was B. S. Brooks, the same man who had represented Chinese interests in the 1876–1877 congressional inquiry.
87. The 1876 Queue Ordinance was but one of several discriminatory ordinances enacted in San Francisco during this period. As detailed in a study by the University of California Hastings College of the Law, others barred the transporting of goods on poles slung across the shoulders, known by the Chinese term "*yeo-ho*"; forbade the ringing of gongs in theatrical performances; and placed high fees on the kinds of carts most used by Chinese.
88. This state-federal competition for power persisted even after the decision in *Chae Chan Ping*. For example, an 1891 California statute barred, in the words of the formal title, "[t]he coming of Chinese persons into the State, whether subjects of the Chinese Empire or otherwise" (*1891 Cal. Excl. Stat.*). As with many others state efforts at exclusion, this statute was struck down by the California Supreme Court: in *Ex Parte: Ah Cue* (1894), the court found the statute a violation of the US constitutional provision giving the federal government the sole power to regulate international commerce.
89. "The decision raised a storm of abuse against its author," Justice Field (Black and Smith 405).
90. Boston-born Geary moved to San Francisco with his parents in 1863, attended local Catholic schools, became a lawyer, and served in Congress from 1890 to 1895 (Johnson and Brown n.p.) Notorious for his enthusiastic enforcement of the Geary Act was another Irish American, John Quinn, the San Francisco revenue collector charged with dispensing identity cards (Pfaelzer 298).
91. See *Fong Yue Ting*. In addition to requiring identification and registration, the Geary Act extended the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years;

reaffirmed the ban on US citizenship for Chinese people; and mandated that two white persons testify on behalf of a Chinese person's immigration status. By this last measure, a US statute, for the very first time ever, imposed a racial condition on a person's right to testify (Pfaelzer 292). The exclusionary laws contributed to the steep drop in San Francisco's Chinese population—from more than 21,000 in 1880 to just under 14,000 twenty years later (Jorae 95).

92. Statewide, even as the overall population grew, the percentage of foreign-born persons in each group remained roughly the same. The 1860 census counted 34,933 Chinese and 33,147 Irish, comprising, respectively, 9.0 percent and 8.7 percent of the California's population (*1860 8th Census* xxix, xxxii, 22–35). Twenty years later, it was much the same: 75,132 Chinese and 62,962 Irish born making up 7.5 percent and 7.3 percent of the state's people (*1880 10th Census* 465, 494, 498, 499). Notably, these censuses did not record the ethnicity of US-born persons. Given rates of reproduction, the number and percentage of Irish would be much higher if immigrants' offspring were included.
93. On the plight of Chinese men, see Ch. 5.
94. The statement at Aoki (908 n.34) is quoted earlier in the text of this chapter.
95. On account of legislators' fear that Kearney's WPC might seize control of the police department, the McCoppin Act took that power away from municipal officials and gave it to a commission appointed by state judges (Mullen, *Chinatown Squad* 13, 47, 50).
96. Although the text cited permits certainty with regard to Irish Americans born in Ireland, of necessity I have in certain circumstances estimated the numbers of American-born Irish through surnames. This method is admittedly fraught with peril. Undoubtedly, it is difficult to guess the ethnicity or religion of the Irish solely through surnames. Owing to invasions, plantations, and intermarriages, "the Irish, to an extent not matched by other groups, shared surnames with other nationalities" (Mullen, *Dangerous* 48). The widespread eighteenth- and nineteenth-century practice of anglicizing old Gaelic names produced further ambiguity. "Smith," for example, is common in Ireland, where it is an anglicized form of the Irish surname MacGowan, itself derived from the Gaelic word *gabha*, meaning "smith." The fact that "Smith" is also one of the most common names in England serves to emphasize the challenge of determining nativity or ethnicity by surname. Accordingly, I have exercised caution and made use of all available evidence surrounding each individual listing so that I am reasonably confident of the accuracy of this and other surname-based lists compiled for this chapter. What is certain is that all these police were men; the department would not hire a woman until the next century.
97. Other ethnic groups lagged far behind: fifteen officers were born in what is now Germany, scarcely more than a tenth the Irish number. Included in this figure are persons listed as "Bavarian," "Prussian," and "Hessian," as well as "German." The total for American-born officers with no apparent Irish ancestry was 125. See "Chief of Police Report, Schedule 'I,' " (52–71); *S. F. Mun. Rpt. 1878–79*.
98. See http://www.sfgov.org/site/police.
99. Crowley's first stint had lasted from 1866 to 1873. Mullen, "Appendix Chiefs" (1–2).
100. "The evils of the system of Special Police and its scandalous abuse in Chinatown, are well known," outgoing Mayor Andrew Jackson Bryant, the Kearney ally who had helped organize a statewide anti-Chinese group, proclaimed in his 1879 farewell address (*S. F. Mun. Rpt. 1889–80* 829). Bryant expressed regret at his inability to eradicate the problem during his tenure, despite the passing of an 1878 law that had bolstered the police force. Less than a decade later Bryant, in an apparent suicide, would drown after going overboard a San

Francisco ferry en route to Oakland: "An Ex-Mayor's Suicide: The Unhappy End of One of San Francisco's Old Citizens," *New York Times*, May 12, 1888, 5. The *Times* obituary stated that "Bryant's affiliations with Denis Kearney and the sand lotters injured him politically, and he never secured office again," although he tried to run for governor.

101. That member was Bill Price, who had been born in County Leitrim at the beginning of the Famine in 1845 and who would become an SFPD rookie cop in 1878. Price was transferred to Chinatown in 1888, after a stint in the Mission district, where he and his partner, William Burke, had taken on the hoodlum gangs. Price, "the mere mention of whose name chills the blood in highbinder's veins" (qtd in Mullen, *Chinatown Squad* 73), became head of the Chinatown Squad in 1890.
102. San Francisco had fifteen such independent militias, including two distinctly Irish companies, the Independent McMahon Grenadier Guard, whose sixty-three members drilled at the Irish-American Hall, and the Sarsfield Guard, whose 103 members drilled in a Mission Street Armory (Langley, *1880* 1139–40).
103. See http://www.sfsheriff.com/sheriffs. In charge of the local jail, the sheriff earned $8,000 a year, twice the salary of the police chief, the county clerk, and most other senior city employees.
104. Desmond helped effect one of the most daring—and perhaps the most transnational—prison escapes in Irish political history. He was one of a group that went to Australia in 1875 and orchestrated the liberation of leading Fenian, whom the British had imprisoned. US-based Fenians commissioned a ship to carry out the raid. *The Catalpa* carried its cargo of Irish patriots to the West Coast of the United States, where many of the escapees went on to live extraordinary lives. See Devoy. An edited version of Fenian leader John Devoy's full account of the raid was recently published in the United States. See Fennell and King.
105. The Irish immigrant population alone "could boast of forty-one lawyers, thirty-two doctors, and seventy-one bankers and brokers. Among the middle class occupations, they comprised almost five hundred clerks and salesman and nine hundred traders and dealers" (Sarbaugh 162). On Irish women teachers in San Francisco, see Ch. 5.
106. Recall too that according to *Cal. Sen.* Rpt. (173), in 1876 the Irish made up at least 98 of the state's 545 foreign-born convicts, more than any ethnic group other than the Chinese.
107. Located where San Francisco General Hospital now stands, the asylum obtained its first government grant as early as 1855; within years, it war further funded to detain young offenders, wards of the court, and girls who had previously been sent to the San Francisco Industrial School. Notably, the asylum was a source of Irish employment as well: in 1880, thirteen of its fifteen Sisters of Mercy were Irish born, and another nun had Irish-born parents (Burchell 10, 11, 160).
108. Chew similarly derided Italians and Jews and lamented that the United States admitted members of all three ethnic groups, but the "Chinese, who are sober or duly law abiding, clean, educated, and industrious, are shut out" (Chew 185).
109. The term originated in San Francisco. According to Mullen, the word "hoodlum" likely stems from the Bavarian word *hodalump*, which means exactly the same thing. In the late 1860s and early1870s, San Francisco had a large Southern German population, including many who ran grocery/saloon combinations—places hoodlums frequented (*Dangerous Strangers* 31, 160).
110. The poem, titled "San Francisco," is excerpted early in this chapter.
111. According to the "Coroner's Report on the Autopsies," out of 386 deaths investigated, eighty-one of the foreign-born corpses were Irish, followed by

fifty-three German, thirty-three Chinese, and twenty English (*S. F. Mun. Rpts. 1878–79* 129). Among the few crime-related categories in which the Irish did not lead was that of suicides: out of a total of eighty-six reported, only five were Irish (125).

112. The San Francisco "Health Officers Report" states that out of 4,493 deaths, US-born persons constituted 2,341, the foreign-born 2,152. In the latter group, 663 decedents were Irish, 504 Chinese, and 310 Germans (*S. F. Mun. Rpts. 1878–79* 222).

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7 An Irish Worker's Post-national Horizon

Not every Irish woman and man of the Famine and post-Famine generations came to embrace social and state structures built upon the subjugation of some groups so that other groups might thrive. Some Irish agitated, throughout the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, for radical transformations of political, economic, social, and racial orders. Without abandoning their own ethnic-national heritage, they sought to make common cause with persons of different ancestries, different national stories, so that together all might construct a post-national—a global—future. Prominent within this post-Famine category was James Connolly.

That claim may astonish some, given that the final act of Connolly's life was distinctly Irish. In the spring of 1916 in Dublin, Connolly and six others signed a Proclamation addressed, in the Irish as well as the English language, "TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND."[1] The proclamation continued:

Irishmen and Irishwomen

> In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her, freedom.

Then Connolly and the 200-strong Irish Citizen Army joined forces with the much larger Irish Republican Brotherhood and took on the British state that had held the island in colonial thrall since the twelfth century. Soon after, all seven proclamation signers met their end behind the heavily armored gates of Kilmainham Gaol, the same jail that Frederick Douglass once visited in recognition of Daniel O'Connell's imprisonment there.[2] Connolly—already dying from gangrenous wounds sustained in the failed Easter Rising—was carried by stretcher to the prison yard, lashed to a chair so that he would not keel over prematurely, and shot dead by a British firing squad. The leaders' executions and quicklime burials would sow the seeds of Ireland's first partial break from Britain in the form of the so-called Irish Free State. This British Dominion, composed of the twenty-six southernmost counties on the thirty-two-county island, was governed from 1922 onward mostly by

right-wing Irish Catholic Nationalists. Ignoring Connolly's working-class Marxist socialism, these petit-bourgeois Irish claimed Connolly, along with the other signers, as their own. To quote W. B. Yeats's famous poem "Easter 1916," published the year before the establishment of the Free State:

> MacDonagh and MacBride
> And Connolly and Pearse
> Now and in time to be,
> Wherever green is worn,
> Are changed, changed utterly:
> A terrible beauty is born.[3]

For many Irish, in Ireland and America alike, the story of James Connolly begins and ends with this placement in the pantheon of Irish Catholic Nationalist martyrs. But that identification fails—fails utterly—to capture the rich complexity of Connolly's life. The same may be said for revisionist accounts that argue that by participating in the rising, Connolly abandoned socialism for nationalism.[4] I reject that argument in this chapter and further claim for Connolly placements outside the Dublin pantheon. I find for him—and other Irish American workers like him—places in transnational, postcolonial, and American studies.

Connolly was, for much of a decade just before his Dublin demise, an American socialist. On his first Green Atlantic[5] crossing, he arrived as an organizer for the Irish Socialist Revolutionary Party; at his recrossing months later he was an adherent of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), an organization with chapters in more than one country. Soon after, he and his family resided for a time in the United States, living hardscrabble in New York's tenements. Connolly worked when he could as a laborer. He agitated for trade unionism, sometimes paid, sometimes not. Angered by the divisive tactics of some in the labor movement, Connolly threw himself into organizing for the Industrial Workers of the World, a radical organization that aspired to a global Big Union; still later, he turned to political activism. And throughout his eight or so years in America, Connolly wrote—for a newspaper he had founded and for many leftist periodicals in the United States and beyond.

His lifework serves as a counterpoint—is *contrapuntal*, to borrow from Edward Said[6]—to that of many Irish profiled in earlier chapters of this book. Unlike New York Archbishop John Hughes and other American ultramontanes, Connolly supported neither a strong state nor a strong Catholic Church.[7] Unlike Mary Ann Sadlier, Bernard O'Reilly, and other conservative Irish Catholic writers, Connolly placed no value on Americanizing the Irish by means of either Catholic capitalist ethics or restrictive gender roles. And unlike Denis Kearney and many others throughout this book's narrative, Connolly did not privilege "free white labor"; to the contrary, he recoiled from colonialism, racism, and other methods by which state

ideological apparatuses advance some groups at the expense of others, and therein lies his importance to this book. An examination of Connolly reveals that whereas the Irish were complicit in the building of the racial state, there were also Irish forms of resistance to this process. Connolly's challenge to the American racial state, as this chapter demonstrates, may be seen as representing a form of counter-modernity that disrupts Irish participation in American state formation, as it paralleled it.

Connolly first landed in America in 1902, at a time when mass migrations from Europe, and to a lesser extent from Asia, were uprooting US urban demographics. It was a time of great social unrest: frantic trade union activity and syndicalist[8] and socialist agitation; state and state-sponsored violence; widespread unemployment and poverty; and rampant racism marked by lynchings and other Jim Crow abuses. Connolly recorded this remarkable period of American history. His thoughts ran deeper on some subjects than others, but he was far from a mere eyewitness to events. In America he produced some of his most significant writings on socialism, nationalism, and colonialism; indeed, his experiences as a US union organizer and political operative shaped his innovative ideas on the colonial subject—published decades before the emergence of postcolonial studies. What is more, on his final Atlantic crossing in 1910, Connolly brought back to Ireland an intermixture of Old and New World ideas, which he applied to the Irish labor and political struggles awaiting his return. To quote Paul Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*, Connolly's multiple crossings fueled "the circulation of ideas and activists" (4). David Lloyd declares it "probable that Connolly, who in his own life traversed more than once the circuits of the North Atlantic and engaged in the myriad forms of labour that the migratory Irish took on, had reason to assert the radical potential of an Irish working class forged in the crucible of colonial capitalist dislocation" ("Rethinking" 368). Lloyd invokes *The Many-Headed Hydra*, in which Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, Lloyd writes, demonstrate "the crucial importance of a mobile, maritime proletariat in the formation of revolutionary consciousness and practices . . . and made specific the connection between mobility and radicalism" ("Rethinking" 367). This chapter investigates that connection, first surveying Connolly's early life, then moving to his activities and significant writings in America, and finally discussing his place on a post-national horizon.

A Transnational Subject

James Connolly was born and raised, lived and died, a transnational subject. He came into the world on June 5, 1868, in Scotland, in a poor and overpopulated Edinburgh neighborhood known as "Little Ireland" (Nevin 4–5). It was to this city across the Irish Sea that his County Monaghan-born parents had immigrated in the wake of the Irish Famine. The parents and their three children were among the poorest of the Scottish poor.

James's father, John, worked nights removing waste, both human and animal, from city streets. His mother, Mary, who suffered from chronic bronchitis, occasionally worked as a domestic servant. James learned to read "by the light of the embers, whose charred sticks served him as pencils" (Greaves 18); his voracious reading gave him a taste for Irish nationalism. According to Connolly biographer C. Desmond Greaves,[9] young James started work "at the age of ten or eleven," first in a newspaper compositor's office and then in a bakery (Greaves 18). By the age of fourteen, he made a decision not then uncommon among impoverished youth who held Irish nationalist views: he joined the British Army.[10] Thus Connolly's first sight of his beloved homeland was in the uniform of the King's Liverpool Regiment when it shipped in 1882 to Ireland, where it would be based for more than six years.

Relatively little is known of Connolly's military life in Ireland.[11] It is known that he continued to read about Irish political movements—in particular, the pro-tenant Land League.[12] And during an evening stroll in Dublin, he met his future wife, Lillie Reynolds, who had been brought up as a member of the Protestant Church of Ireland.[13] They married in Perth, Scotland, in 1889, shortly after James separated from the army. In Scotland James—with constant support from Lillie, herself an ardent socialist—immersed himself in trade unionism. He studied Marx and Engels along with other works of history, literature, politics, and economics. By 1894 Connolly had risen to the post of Scottish Labour Party secretary. Yet the husband and father struggled to provide for his family; in one rough patch, he resolved to immigrate to Chile (Reeve and Reeve 14). Lillie balked. Her appeal to his comrades gave rise to a paid position: returning to Ireland in 1896, Connolly became an organizer for the Dublin Socialist Club. A year and a half later Connolly exulted that the club—renamed the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP)—had leaped from "obscurity to public recognition, and even approval" (qtd in Greaves 101). Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl, offered her support, as did other leading socialist figures (Reeve and Reeve 15). Delegates at the 1900 Congress of the Second International, meeting in Paris, officially recognized the ISRP, and the party would be one of only thirty-nine worldwide invited to participate at the Third International Congress in 1919 (Reeve and Reeve 23; Young 127).

The political organizer's finances remained unstable, for the ISRP routinely failed to raise Connolly's pound-a-week wages. Sometimes he found work as a laborer with the Dublin Corporation. Often he went without food so that his growing family could eat. A teetotaler, Connolly shunned the Dublin pubs popular with many of his comrades. Instead, he passed his many days of unemployment at Ireland's National Library, researching and writing articles for left-wing papers on both side of the Atlantic. On occasion he conversed with Yeats and other Irish literati. Having become a skilled orator, Connolly was invited to tour England and Scotland on several occasions. It was not long before an invitation came from America.

Crossing to America

Connolly was well-known in America when he set sail from Derry to New York in 1902. His fame had preceded him through reports of his activities in the Irish American press and through his own writings in *Weekly People*, the paper of the SLP of the United States; that party also had published in full Connolly's pamphlet, *Erin's Hope* (Reeve and Reeve 26). Even mainstream media made note of him: As far back as 1899, the *San Francisco Call* had spilt much ink on a Dublin rally in favor of the Boers then fighting the British empire in South Africa.[14] "Maud Gonne, the so-called 'Irish Joan of Arc,' and James Connolly, the Irish republican, drove in a wagon to the place appointed for the meeting," the *Call* reported, and proceeded to recount in detail a defiant parade filled with songs, cheers, speeches, and police presence. "Maud Gonne and Mr. Connolly drove off with the intention of holding open-air meetings," the page 2 report concluded, "but the police arrested Mr. Connolly."

Thus in September 1902, when Connolly took the stage to address a packed meeting at New York's Cooper Union, the funders of his three-and-a-half-month tour of the United States and Canada had good cause to hope for success. Connolly's ISRP hoped that he would secure in America badly needed finances by selling newspaper subscriptions; his trade union, the United Labourers, hoped he would bring home lessons from American labor struggles. And his US funder, the SLP of the United States, hoped that Connolly would attract Irish Americans to its ranks.

Connolly's confidence in fulfilling such hopes is apparent in an editorial in the ISRP paper *Workers' Republic*. "The fact that our comrade has spent so much of his own life (20 years) amongst the Irish exiles of Great Britain," he writes, referring to himself, "fits him in a peculiar manner for the task of understanding and speaking to those other exiles in America" (qtd in Nevin 156). Having located himself in the Irish diaspora, Connolly further notes his expertise on "the revolt of the working class," and promised to "remind" his US listeners "that the progress of capitalism brings for the American a slavery as grinding and merciless as that we groan under today, even if many of their slaves be better fed and housed than ours" (157). His post-Civil War use of "slavery" to describe the conditions of the working class on both sides of the Atlantic seems unfortunate, given Connolly's keen knowledge of and unequivocal opposition to the specific US manifestation of that institution.

Evincing his repugnance to that institution is a letter Connolly wrote in America after his visit the Newburgh, New Jersey, house from which General George Washington had commanded revolutionary troops. Washington's mother's will had caught his eye; she had bequeathed to one of her children "'my Negro wench, Little Bit, and all her future increase'" (qtd in Nevin 197). "Here," Connolly writes,

> we have the family of the greatest patriot of Revolutionary America—a patriot passionate with love of "Freedom"—consigning to perpetual

> servitude, not only the living Negro woman, but all her children yet unborn. It forms another illustration of the necessity for insisting upon a clear definition of the term 'freedom' as of all other terms so glibly used in political warfare.
>
> (qtd in Nevin 197)

"Freedom" was not the only watchword of American national identity that Connolly came to question during his largely successful speaking tour. Another was "individualism," as Carl Reeve and Ann Barton Reeve note in *James Connolly and the United States*.[15] Asked at a December 26, 1902, New York meeting what he thought of America, Connolly at first professed to have no expertise. But then, the Reeves write, Connolly railed against US capitalists' "general disregard for law," adding that in "the United States, more than any other country, individualism is systematically practiced, 'both as a theory and as a policy.' Even trade unions are affected by this general lawlessness . . . the country as a whole, was behind, in its conception of the class struggle" (41). The next day, Connolly began the voyage back to Ireland. But he would not stay on that side of the Atlantic long. And on his return to the United States, Connolly's disagreements with some American unionists—alluded to in the New York speech just quoted—would shift to the fore.

A Rough Second Crossing

Connolly returned to Dublin to find that his ISRP had squandered the funds he raised in America. Its *Workers' Republic* was nearly bankrupt and unable to fill new US subscriptions. He resigned from the party soon after and accepted the offer of a paid speaking tour in Scotland. There he helped set up a Socialist Labour Party of Scotland, modeled after the US group that had supported his North American tour. Despite long hours of work Connolly remained, as the Reeves write, "unable to find in Ireland or Scotland the means with which to support his family" (46)—by this time, James and Lillie were the parents of six children between the ages of two and twelve.[16] And so by mid-October 1903, less than a year after his first departure, James Connolly was back in New York.

Life in the United States was harder the second time around. Connolly sailed alone to New York City only to find that the SLP of the United States was not forthcoming with expected job-hunting assistance. Eventually Connolly moved upstate to live with cousins who had paid his boat fare over. In Troy, New York, he worked as an insurance collector to earn his family's transatlantic passage (Greaves 169).[17]

Just before the family's intended departure date, Lillie fell dangerously ill. She recovered by August 1904, but further tragedy struck on the eve of the family's planned crossing: Mona, the eldest daughter, died of burns sustained when her dress caught fire at the stove (Nevin 244). Lillie and the surviving five children departed a week later.

Their reunion with James was bittersweet, and their life would remain no less precarious in America than it had been in the past. Food was often scarce. Able to afford heat only in the evening, the family found the cold of upstate New York particularly harsh. Connolly's daughter Ina later recalled that in the winter of 1906, the children huddled together in bed throughout the day, trying to stay warm, while their mother read them stories (Reeve and Reeve 76). Such hardships weighed heavily. In 1908, Connolly confided to the Cork-born American labor organizer, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, that he yearned to return to Ireland (Greaves 230). The same year, in a letter to his Scotland-based friend, John Carstairs Matheson, Connolly reports: "[T]he misery and hunger in New York are dreadful. I am simply frightened at the immediate outlook for the family and myself" (*Between Comrades* 359). In the next sentence, Connolly scrawls: "How then get home?" (*Between Comrades* 359).

Differences with De Leon

Compounding these personal travails was the souring of Connolly's relationship with Daniel De Leon, leader of the SLP of the United States, the group that first welcomed Connolly to America. Claims Stephen Coleman, author of the most recent De Leon biography: "Daniel De Leon was the most outstanding American socialist thinker, writer, orator and political organizer of the years from 1890 until the eve of the First World War" (1). Yet Coleman is hard pressed to concede: "Apart from generally uncritical hagiographical accounts of his life written by De Leonists in defence of their tradition, most historians have mentioned De Leon only in passing, usually disparagingly and often inaccurately" (vi).[18] The resemblance of this assessment to some levied against Connolly represents just one of the ways that the men's stories intersect.[19]

De Leon, born the son of a Dutch military surgeon on the Caribbean island of Curaçao in 1852, was educated in Europe before his US emigration in the early 1870s (Coleman 7–8). Joining the SLP of the United States in 1890, De Leon rose quickly in its ranks; he would dominate the SLP for the next quarter-century. In 1892, he became editor of the SLP's *Weekly People*, for which he was to write many articles on Marxist theory; he also translated Marx and Engels into English. He cultivated a fiercely loyal band of followers—not only American but also British, and especially Scottish, socialists.

At first Connolly himself was a De Leon disciple, as indicated by his 1903 role in establishing the SLP's transatlantic affiliate, the Socialist Labour Party of Scotland. Yet as early as Connolly's 1902 tour, any careful observer would have glimpsed friction between the two men. On occasion, Connolly had taken on US unionism—his critical New York speech, for example, had been met with an immediate counter-speech by De Leon. Moreover, in a 1902 letter published in the SLP's own *Weekly People*, Connolly had described De Leon "as a somewhat chirpy old gentleman with an inordinately developed bump of family affection" (qtd in Greaves 150).[20] The description seems less

than charitable, given that by that time De Leon was forty-nine years old, his visage was framed by a full, white beard. The bump of his forehead had receded well into white-fringed baldness. By contrast, Connolly—sixteen years De Leon's junior—sported a fuller head of dark hair and a dark mustache worthy of a walrus[21] (see Figure 7.1).

Nor is there much doubt that the men's personalities helped fuel the feud. Both De Leon—"known as 'the Pope' because of his claim to infallibility in matters of socialist faith and morals" (Nevin 207)—and Connolly—whom De Leon dubbed "Jesuitical" (Reeve and Reeve 99–100)—liked to have their own way.

Battles between two played out at movement meetings, through proxy supporters, and in print. An early salvo took the form of conflicting letters in the April 9, 1904, edition of the SLP's *Weekly People*.[22] First catching the reader's eye would have been Connolly's letter, "Wages, Marriage and

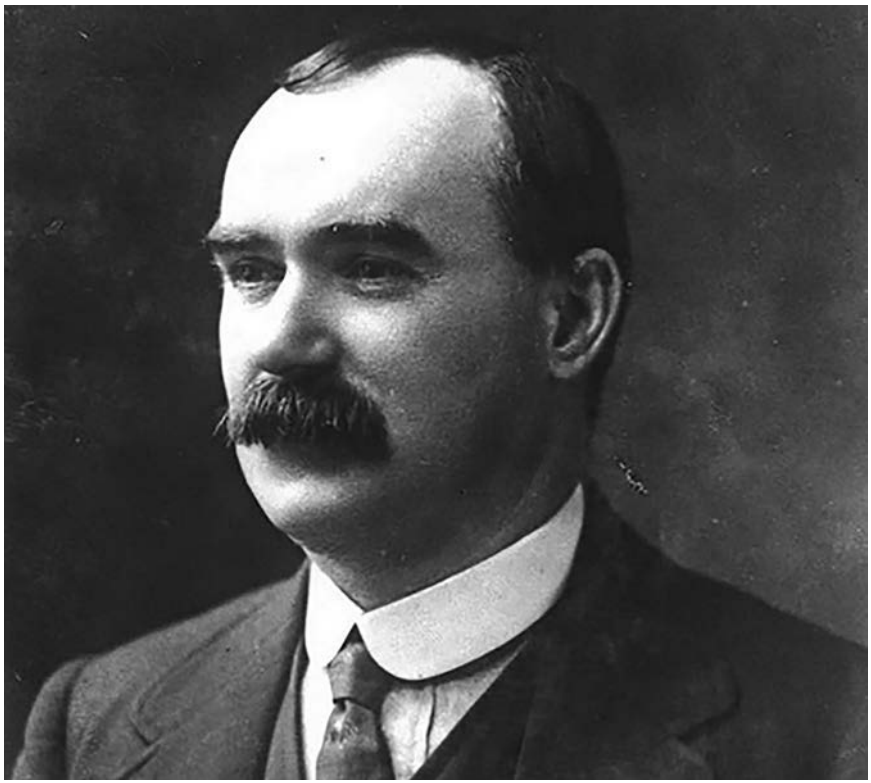

Figure 7.1 James Connolly, 1868–1916.

Image courtesy of *Irish America Magazine*, and The Irish Labour Party, https://www.flickr.com/photos/labourparty/7022184111 (CC BY ND 2.0).

the Church" (Coleman 110). It stirred controversy because on each issue Connolly contested SLP positions—as De Leon made clear in the letter he published in the same edition. In reverse order from Connolly's title, their disputes were as follows:

Church: In an earlier edition, *Weekly People* had published "Socialism or the Catholic Church," in which Belgian social democrat Emil Vandervelde[23] denounced the Catholic Church as a reactionary enemy that one day would have to be confronted (Coleman 112). Connolly's letter objects, expressing concern that such views would alienate Catholics from socialism. It seems likely that his objection extended to American nativists, whose anti-Catholic views Vandervelde's article would bolster. As Kieran Allen observes, "Catholics made up the largest proportion of recent immigrants at the time and were often attacked on a religious basis, in a manner to some extent comparable with contemporary attacks on 'fanatical' Muslims" (63). The specter of negative consequences in mind, Connolly's letter insists that Catholicism ought to be a matter of no concern the movement. "Theoretically," he writes, "every SLP man agrees that socialism is a political and economic question and has nothing to do with religion" (qtd in Coleman 112).

De Leon's simultaneously published reply dismissed the notion that the SLP was antireligious and agreed with Connolly that religion was a private matter. Indeed, De Leon contended that Vandervelde had stated private opinions, not SLP policy.

Sex, Gender, Marriage: In prior editions of the *Weekly People*, De Leon had serialized his own translation of *Women and Socialism*, an 1879 tract in which the German socialist August Bebel questions the usefulness of monogamy. Again Connolly's letter objects, judging so-called free-love notions "an excrescence upon the movement" (qtd in Coleman 111). As with religion, Connolly's letter again expresses concern that a move away from monogamy would alienate working-class people and give ammunition to socialism's right-wing opponents. Again he insists that noneconomic matters lie outside the movement's scope. "I personally reject any attempt, no matter by whom made," he writes, in what may be a reference to De Leon, "to identify socialism with any theory of marriage or sexual relations" (qtd in K. Allen 62).

Once again dismissing Connolly's objection was De Leon; his letter "described as 'utopian' Connolly's view that only 'the economic side of the Women Question' will be solved by removing capitalism," and charged that Connolly was "projecting capitalist conditions into socialism" (Coleman 114). De Leon's allegations underscore that Connolly's objections placed him in opposition not only to Bebel but also to Karl Marx's primary collaborator: Twenty years before the publication of Connolly's letter, Friedrich Engels argued in *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* that changes in the mode of production affect family relationships.

From today's vantage point as well, that Connolly's 1904 letter relegated issues of sex and gender roles issues to a private sphere is unfortunate—perhaps even out of character—for Connolly held progressive views on many

other tenets of the feminist movement. Back in 1899 he had, as noted early in this chapter, campaigned against the British war in South Africa side by side with Maud Gonne. In a 1908 review of a new journal—*Bean na hÉireann*, a new journal, cofounded by Gonne, which took its name from the Irish words for "Woman of Ireland"—Connolly affirmed belief in "the absolute social and political equality of the sexes" (*The Harp*, Dec. 8, 4).[24] He saw in the journal's establishment "proof" that "the women of Ireland are not in any mood to go begging for rights when they are able to take them" (*The Harp*, Dec. 8, 4). In 1913, prominent Irish suffragist Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington said of him: "Mr. James Connolly . . . is the soundest and most thorough-going feminist among all Irish labour men. . . . He has done more, by speech and by writing, than any other man to bring about that strong feeling of sympathy for the suffragist cause which now exists among the Irish Labour Party" (qtd in Metscher 155). Finally, Connolly encouraged women's active participation—including in key leadership roles in the Irish Citizen Army he led into the 1916 Rising.[25]

Kieran Allen ventures that the position Connolly took in his 1904 letter may been the result of his Catholic upbringing (62). At first blush this seems a plausible explanation for Connolly's objections both to other socialists' questioning of monogamous marriage and to their condemnation of the Church. But the accuracy of that explanation is far from clear. As late as a census made in 1911, after he had gone to Ireland for good, the "Religious Profession" of Connolly and all his children is listed as Roman Catholic.[26] Nor does that seem some census taker's random assignment, given that Connolly's wife, Lillie, born and raised a Protestant, is listed as a member of the Church of Ireland. Other factors counsel against giving too much weight to these data, however. First, there is Coleman's observation that notwithstanding his party-line dismissals of Connolly, "as with religion, De Leon's own position on monogamy was not that far from Connolly's" (Coleman 114). De Leon was not Catholic; he had been born a Sephardic Jew (7). Second, there are Connolly's own words. In a 1908 letter to Carstairs Matheson, Connolly writes: "I have not gone to my duty for 15 years, and have not the slightest tincture of faith left. I only assumed that Catholic pose in order to query the raw freethinkers whose ridiculous dogmatism did and does annoy me, as much as the dogmatism of the Orthodox" (*Between Comrades* 344).[27] The letter expresses a far different kind of Catholicism—and implies a far different set of what now are called family values—than was advanced by New York's archbishop, John Hughes, and his followers in the clergy and laity. In this light, the Church and conservative social mores belong in the larger arsenal of weapons that Connolly deployed to promote his paramount concern, the conversion of the working men and women to socialism.

Wages: On the other issue raised in the 1904 letter—wages—Connolly's dispute with De Leon would be deep and long-lasting. Connolly's letter attacked "a tendency among SLP members to argue that workers could not benefit even temporarily from a wage increase because 'every rise in wages was offset by a rise in prices' " (K. Allen 60). Connolly rightly saw this as

dangerous nonsense; as Allen points out, "its logical outcome would be to reduce the Socialist Trade and Labour Alliance . . . to passivity" (K. Allen 60). Even a De Leon admirer like Coleman is at pains to admit that De Leon "should have accepted Connolly's criticisms regarding SLPers who were confused about the wage-price relationship" (113). Instead, De Leon's ego seems to have got the better of him.

What may have seemed like a healthy and open debate in April 1904 soon took a different turn. In subsequent editions of *Weekly People*, editor De Leon published more than twenty letters addressing the controversies raised; most attacked Connolly. Coleman strains to characterize this as De Leon's efforts to promote discussion yet admits: "Connolly himself did not contribute to the correspondence but not for the want of trying. De Leon would not publish his letter, on the technical grounds that it raised new matter" (118).

Connolly was beginning to regard De Leon as a tyrant, wedded to a mechanical interpretation of Marxism—in Kieran Allen's words, "a crude materialist reading" that saw socialism as "entirely dependent on the 'laws of science' " (59). This interpretation encouraged passivity, for "[i]t suggested that the fate of capitalism had already been sealed by the laws that operated behind the back of the mass of workers" (59). Gregory Dobbins's insightful essay, "Whenever Green is Red: James Connolly and Postcolonial Theory," neatly summarizes the lessons Connolly learned while in the SLP: "Though he eventually broke with De Leon, his involvement with the SLP provided Connolly with an extremely nuanced understanding of the intricacies of theoretical Marxism; his split with the dogmatic De Leon gave him an understanding of how theoretical fundamentalism could prove schismatic and ineffective" (607). Fortunately for Connolly, who preferred practice to theory, his parting with the SLP coincided with the birth of a new and militant labor union.

One Big Union, for a While

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—also known as the Wobblies—"burst onto the stage of American labour" in 1905, and in the ensuing decade "they were to blaze a trail of heroic class struggle that has remained a high-water mark" (K. Allen 66). At the summer 1905 founding convention in Chicago, IWW Chair Big Bill Haywood said: "There are at least twenty million unorganized workers in the USA. . . . This Industrial Union movement is broad enough to take in all of them . . ." (qtd in Reeve and Reeve 107). Referring to the group's commitment to fighting discrimination against all workers, Haywood declared: "It does not make a bit of difference whether he is a Negro or a white man—it does not make any difference whether he is an American or a foreigner. . . . The organization that has been launched in your city recognizes neither race, creed, color, sex . . ." (qtd in Reeve and Reeve 107). Soon Connolly, along with De Leon and others in the Socialist Labour Party, became members of the Wobblies.

Also participating in the IWW's first two meetings in 1905 was Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, by then already a septuagenarian icon in the labor, children's rights, and human rights movements. "I was born in the city of Cork, Ireland, in 1830," begins *The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (11). The author, who tended to emphasize her "grandmotherly appearance" (Hawse), seems to have added years to her age; parish records indicate that Mary Harris was born in 1837 (Cordery 8). Jones's Famine-era childhood and the consequent scenes of disease-ridden corpses—she was ten in Black'47, and her family fled to North America when she was a teen[28]—affected her deeply. "I've seen too many deaths ungarnished with the lily to be romantic about it," Mother Jones told the writer Djuna Barnes in 1915.[29] Her autobiography is even less flowery: "My people were poor. For generations they had fought for Ireland's freedom" (11). In America, Mother Jones, five feet tall and a self-proclaimed "hell-raiser" (Hawse) fought for the rights of workers—in concert with Connolly and another ally, James Larkin.[30] As Rosemary Feurer explains in a 2014 lecture: "[A]ll three of them attempted to frame a labour movement that was capable of allowing people the strategies and tactics of rising together, of getting off the knees, and of faith that workers could truly do that in order to create a new kind of civilization" (Feurer 3). Hearkening to a radical incarnation of the Green Atlantic, Feurer continues:

> Mother Jones was part of a conversation across the Atlantic, and how she and other Irish radicals created bridges for the transmission of older radical ideals into the modern era. For her and for Connolly and Larkin, these were movements in conversation with each other. All three were simultaneously modern figures and transmission forces for older forms of struggle, conveyors of a long memory that sought to kindle a spirit of rebellion and struggling with strategies for that kindling.
>
> (Feurer 3)

Jones would continue the fight till her death in 1930, although disillusionment with internal bickering would lead her to leave the IWW before the group's first anniversary (Cordery 1, 105–10).

In contrast, James Connolly would find a home in the IWW. There he learned lessons that influenced his writings and his work in the United States and, eventually, back in Ireland. As Connolly biographer Richard M. Fox notes, "Probably the biggest single contribution which the American years brought was to give him a complete grasp of the theory and practice of industrial unionism in its early militant phase" (qtd in Metscher 60).

Connolly found work as a machinist at the huge Singer factory in the city of Elizabeth, New Jersey, but when management caught wind of his presence, he resigned so that the foreman, a friend, would not be forced to fire him (Greaves 197). He then was appointed an IWW organizer of the building section in New York. Among a workforce that was predominantly foreign born, Connolly, who had taught himself Italian and German,

proved the ideal organizer, and for the first time during his stay in America, he had a job that he loved.

But by this time his disagreement with De Leon over the wages issue had escalated to an all-out feud. "The substantial political differences which separated the two men were compounded by a suspicion on De Leon's part, perhaps not altogether groundless, that Connolly was after his position as party leader," W. K. Anderson argues, and further by "a strong distaste on Connolly's part for middle-class leadership of socialist organizations" (36).[31]

De Leon decided to bring the feud into the IWW, accusing Connolly of being a "police spy" (Reeve and Reeve 126). As the matter simmered, Connolly resigned from the SLP. He explained his decision to a Scottish comrade:

> You people cannot understand the situation of a man surrounded by enemies, and with a man so unscrupulous as De Leon in complete control of the chief source from which the rank and file derive their information; you cannot understand how it is to feel that after giving twenty years of your life to the Socialist movement and always deliberately lining up with the most revolutionary side, and therefore the poorest side, you should yet be in danger of being damned forever in the eyes of the revolutionary working-class as a disrupter and spy.
>
> (qtd in Reeve and Reeve 132)

At the 1908 IWW convention, De Leon supporters denied that their patron ever called Connolly—whose work for the IWW had earned him high regard—a spy. But their backpedaling came too late. The Wobblies ousted delegate De Leon and resolved: "The IWW refuse all alliances, direct or indirect, with existing political parties or anti-political sects . . ." (qtd in Reeve and Reeve 139).[32] This spelled the end of IWW-SLP relations. De Leonites walked out behind their unseated leader, then tried to set up rival organization—in vain, for it folded in 1924 (142). The Wobblies fared only slightly better: a 1907 stock market crash set off a long recession. Dozens of IWW branches dissolved and, with them, the vision of One Big Union.

Coupling Labor Agitation with Political Action

By the time of the 1908 IWW-SLP split, Connolly already had determined that labor agitation alone would not bring change; also required was broader political action. He had hoped that the IWW would launch its own political party, but when that prospect dimmed, he chose to work with the Socialist Party of America (SPA), a new competitor for De Leon's control of US socialism. The SPA's leaders left much to be desired, for the right wing controlled the insurgent party. Kieran Allen thus treats Connolly's entry into the SPA as a move "rightwards" (78). He adds: "Undoubtedly this was the correct tactic for revolutionaries, as the SLP had degenerated into a sect. There was also a strong left in the SPA around Eugene V. Debs" (79). Allen seems to

claim that Connolly had ceased to be a socialist revolutionary;[33] he writes that Connolly did not join to challenge the right wing but rather that "[h]e accepted the social democratic notion of a party as a 'broad church' " (79). It is one thing to say that Connolly—a full-time organizer in the SPA's vibrant and revolutionary left wing—underestimated the right wing in the SPA. But to say that he himself moved to the right is quite another.

Dobbins illuminates Connolly's thought processes better than most. "Connolly was an aleatory thinker," he writes, "and one of the primary characteristics of his writing is that any given position was formulated according to the specific conditions of the moment that produced it, rather than forced to conform to an a priori system of interpretation" (609). Connolly's experiences in the American socialist movement had made him mistrustful of "overarching teleologies"; any solution to a given problem "was a contingent theoretical flexibility attuned to the immediate needs of the time" (614). As Dobbins notes, years after his work for the SPA Connolly would say as much himself. In the oft-quoted conclusion to his "Titanic Struggle," an article published during the bitter 1913 general strike known as the Dublin Lockout, Connolly writes: "To those who criticize us we can only reply: we fight as conditions dictate; we meet new conditions with new policies. Those who choose may keep old policies to meet new conditions. We cannot and will not try" (Marxists.org).[34]

What He Has to Say

Squeezed into a single column on an inner page of a 1909 edition of the *Daily Arizona Silver Belt* was this notice:

JAMES CONNOLLY
The Irish Orator
of Dublin and New York
Will speak at
GLOBE
In the District Courtroom
TONIGHT
On the subject of
SOCIALISM

—

Mr. Connolly is editor of the Harp in New York City and one of the best known socialist speakers in the country. All are invited to come and hear what he has to say of the great movement which is now demanding the attention of people of all classes in every country in the world.[35]

James Connolly's years in America were a whirl of unemployment, hard labor, sickness, poverty, hunger, family trauma, attacks from De Leon and others, nationwide speaking tours, conferences, strike committee meetings, and newspaper editorial gatherings. Amid all this, Connolly found time to write. He wrote an important pamphlet and, as this chapter already has shown, innumerable letters containing politically significant passages. He wrote not only for *The Harp*, featured in the Arizona news item, but also for other US periodicals, such as *Weekly People*, *Daily People*, *Industrial Union Bulletin*, and *International Socialist Review*, as well as for papers in Ireland, Australia, and South Africa. This chapter now looks at a fraction of that intellectual output; in particular, writings that demonstrate the versatility and importance of Connolly's writings to transnational and American studies scholarship.

Making Socialism Easy

The evolution of Connolly's ideas about trade unionism is evident in *Socialism Made Easy*, the 1908 Chicago-published pamphlet in which Connolly spells out his syndicalist vision for the world.[36] "Under socialism, states, territories or provinces will exist only as geographical expressions and have no existence as sources of governmental power, though they may be seats of administrative bodies," Connolly writes, adding that ". . . the administrative force of the Socialist Republic of the future will function through unions industrially organized" (*Selected Writings* 152). This profession of belief in the power of the trade union movement to resolve the inequities inherent in the capitalist system, and so bring about socialist revolution, sounds naïve to twenty-first-century ears. Yet as Samuel Levenson has pointed out, at the time that Connolly published these words, "there was still room in his mind for political action" (146)—action outside of the union movement.[37]

In *Socialism Made Easy*, Connolly writes of syndicalism: "The power of this idea to transform the dry detail work of trade union organization into the constructive work of revolutionary Socialism, and thus make of the unimaginative trade unionist a potent factor in the launching of a new system of society, cannot be over-estimated," he writes in one passage, adding, "It invests the sordid details of daily incidents of the class struggle with new and beautiful meaning, and presents them in their true light as skirmishes between two opposing armies of light and darkness" (*Selected Writings* 153). Then follows a military metaphor: "In the light of this principle of industrial unionism every fresh shop or factory organized under its banner is a fort wrenched from the control of the capitalist class and manned with the soldiers of the revolution to be held by them for the workers" (*ibid.*).

Kieran Allen calls the work crudely materialistic and unclear on the role of trade unions in capitalist society (71–74). But he misses the point. The pamphlet's very name—*Socialism Made Easy*—indicates that it is meant as a practical aid to workers and activists who wish better to acquaint

themselves with socialism and industrial unionism. "Hence reader," Connolly writes, "if you belong to the working class your duty is clear. Your union must be perfected until it embraces everyone who toils in the service of your employer . . ." (*Selected Writings* 163). It is an optimistic work—a fact that provokes further complaint from Allen—intended as encouragement for working men and women and not as intellectual fodder for armchair revolutionaries. "Connolly's subsequent tendency to regard issues in terms of practice rather than theory was accented," writes Dobbins, "by his later involvement with the Industrial Workers of the World" (607). These were lessons learned in America that according to Peter Berresford Ellis, stayed with Connolly to the very end.[38]

A *Harp* on Nationalism, Racism, and Colonialism

In early twentieth-century America, socialists often organized along ethnic lines, in what then were called "Race Federations" (Reeve and Reeve 85). Connolly saw in this an excellent opportunity to draw foreign-born workers to the cause.[39] He worked closely with the Italian Socialist Federation and eventually formed in its image the Irish Socialist Federation. In Connolly's mind, the latter group would combat the "capitalist organizations of Irish-America" and prepare the Irish-American working class "to take their place in the revolutionary army of the American proletariat . . ." (85–86).

Joining Connolly in New York at the 1907 inaugural meeting was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, an Irish American then just sixteen years old and already a committed socialist; later on she would help found the American Civil Liberties Union, campaign for feminism, and become an activist in the American Communist Party. Her 1955 autobiography, *Rebel Girl*, is remarkable not least because it links her family's resistance to British colonial rule in Ireland with the struggles of poor persons, of all ethnicities, for rights in the United States. In this memoir, Flynn recalls her first meeting with Connolly as "an unforgettable event in my life" (73). Like Connolly, Flynn joined the IWW and agitated on behalf of labor. Also like Connolly, she broke with De Leon; a De Leon admirer later sniped:

> Old timers in the S.L.P. and the I.W.W. will remember a character by the name of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Ignorant and bombastic, but glib-tongued, she became notorious as an anarcho-syndicalist, and naturally took to anarcho-communism as a duck takes to water . . . This lady . . . in an article in the *Sunday Worker* a few months ago . . . viciously attacked De Leon, while praising the Jesuitical James Connolly.
>
> (Petersen 232)[40]

Together, Connolly, Flynn, and others worked to build the Irish Socialist Federation. Branches were established in Boston, Chicago, and other urban centers of Irish immigration. In part because Irish Americans already

were entwined with Democratic machines like New York's Tammany Hall, however, the new group made few inroads in the Irish American political arena.[41]

The Irish Socialist Federation found more success in its newspaper, *The Harp*. The first issue, dated January 1908, contained the "Declaration of Principles of the Irish Socialist Federation," which stated that the organization aimed "to educate the working-class Irish of this country into a knowledge of Socialist principles and to prepare them to cooperate with workers of all other races; colors and nationalities in the emancipation of labor" (*The Harp*, Jan. 1908, 12). In the course of Connolly's national tour that year, the paper's circulation would rise to 3,000 (Nevin 281–82).

In *The Harp* Connolly had free rein to comment without trying to placate De Leon and others. He wrote on a variety of issues, from the history of the Irish in America, to the nativist Know-Nothing movement, to workers' struggles all over the world. As augured by the Declaration of Principles, key issues were nationalism, racism, and colonialism, each discussed in turn as follows:

Nationalism: In his article "Europe and America," Connolly writes: "One of the salient characteristics of American life [is] . . . the intense chauvinism, the exaggerated patriotism of its inhabitants" (*The Harp*, Feb. 1908, 6). Connolly had encountered this left-wing version of American exceptionalism on his very first tour to the United States; indeed, it was evident in the words of De Leon's counter-speech following Connolly's December 1902 attack on American individualism, quoted at the outset of this chapter. De Leon had rejoined that "America was the country upon which the emancipation of the workers of Europe depended and which, therefore, they must learn to know" (Reeve and Reeve 41). Left-wing American exceptionalism likewise surfaced in other labor activists' espousal of an English-language-only approach to organizing in the United States. Taking issue with the exceptionalist positions of the American left, Connolly argues in "Europe and America" that American socialists' condescension toward European movements impeded an internationalist approach to political action.

Racism: Connolly's views on racism merit particular attention. The star of anti-immigration activist Denis Kearney had faded well before Connolly arrived in America,[42] but others, including Samuel Gompers, leader of the American Federation of Labor, had followed in Kearney's footsteps and campaigned to restrict Chinese immigration (Reeve and Reeve 163). Connolly condemned Gompers's racist posturing (Nevin 217). And on several occasions in *the Harp*, Connolly made clear his opposition to racism. In the December 1908 edition, for instance, he writes sarcastically that "an ignorant European" in search of American notions of liberty "might have visited Alabama and seen American citizens on strike, driven from their homes by the power of the capitalist mine-owner . . ." (*The Harp*, Dec. 1908, 1). This expression of support for the Alabama miners' strike is significant because

it involved a large number of African American workers—40,000 Blacks were members of the United Workers Union at the time (Reeve and Reeve 164). It nonetheless must be noted that even though Connolly often wrote in support of Black labor struggles in *The Harp*, he tended not to mention the color of the workers whose cause he was championing. In doing so, the Reeves maintain, Connolly was following the custom of the American socialist movement at the time. Furthermore, Dobbins rightly asserts that Connolly's "understanding of race is somewhat limited in that it fails to theorize the connection between race and skin color . . ." (619).

Connolly was ahead of his time on this issue in other ways; for example, he used *The Harp* to attack the prevailing essentialist notion of race. In an article titled "Harp Strings," Connolly declares: "All races are mixed more or less; a pure race does not exist. In all the world there cannot be found a territory of any size still inhabited exclusively by the autochthonous, or original inhabitants, a territory whose records do not tell of a conquest and a settlement by alien invading host" (*The Harp*, Jan. 1908, 1).

Colonialism: On a related issue, Connolly again was ahead of his time: He was among the few Marxists of his era who drew direct links between one colonized people and another. In "The Coming Revolt in India," published in two issues of *The Harp*, Connolly notes similarities in struggles for freedom in India and Ireland. He states:

> We Irish are, of course, well enough acquainted with the ways of English officialdom to be able to discount to a certain extent the brightly colored reports of progress emanating from such sources, and they constitute the sole medium by which Indian news is allowed to filter through to the reading public. But it would, nevertheless, be a mistake to suppose that the present writer denies that progress has been made in India under British rule. The only question is, In [*sic*] what degree is that progress due to British rule, and in what degree is it that progress which, under any circumstances, would have been made by an intellectual people with a continuity of literary and philosophic activity stretching back for two thousand years and more?
>
> (*The Harp*, Jan. 1908, 4–5)

The passage reveals Connolly's innovative thinking. In it Connolly breaks from then-contemporary Marxist thought, which arrogantly maintained that non-Western societies had to pass through a phase of capitalism before a revolutionary vanguard could be built and the socialist revolution achieved. Connolly was one of the first to see the folly of this thinking. Again in *The Harp*, he remarks: "I have heard some doctrinaire Socialists arguing that Socialists should not sympathize with oppressed nationalities, or with nationalities resisting conquest. They argue that the sooner these nationalities are suppressed the better, as it will be easier to conquer political power in a few big empires than in a number of small states." He proceeded to

condemn the doctrinalists: "This is the language argument all over again. It is fallacious in both cases. It is even more fallacious in the case of nationalities" (*The Harp*, Apr. 1908, 2).

It is in excerpts like these that Lloyd finds strands of nationalism and socialism uniquely woven into Connolly's "versions of 'national Marxism,' far from representing a model outmoded by transnationalism" (368). "[E]mbedded in the longer history of colonial capitalism," these versions, Lloyd continues, "offer the possibility of alternative histories and alternative futures that might sidestep the iron logic of developmental historicism" (368).

Connolly's theorization of racial difference through the colonized world is admittedly underdeveloped, and this, according to Dobbins, "causes his work to appear somewhat primitive when compared to later postcolonial criticism, beginning with the work of Fanon" (613). Yet as Dobbins notes, "this is a moot point: it is not useful to consider Connolly's shortcomings in terms that were not historically available to him" (613).

In America, a History of Irish Labor

It is well-known that Connolly's major work *Labour in Irish History* was published in book form following his return to Ireland in 1910. What is less widely known is that the work was written while he lived in America and that it first appeared in installments in *The Harp*, from August 1908 to June 1910. In *Labour*, Connolly was trying something new; in his own words, he was "attempting to depict the attitude of the dispossessed masses of the Irish people in the great crisis of modern Irish history" (Connolly *Labour in Irish History*, xxxi). Seeming to foreshadow relativist arguments to be made later in the twentieth century, Connolly begins his text with a pithy quote from Napoleon Bonaparte: "What is History but a fable agreed upon." He continues:

> It is itself a significant commentary upon the subordinate place allotted to labour in Irish politics that a writer should think it necessary to explain his purpose before setting out to detail for the benefit of his readers the position of the Irish workers in the past, and the lessons derived from a study of that position in guiding the movement of the working class today. Were history what it ought to be, an accurate literary reflex of the times with which it professes to deal, the pages of history would be almost entirely engrossed with a recital of the wrongs and struggles of the labouring people, constituting, as they have ever done, the vast mass of mankind. But history, in general, treats the working class as the manipulator of politics treats the working man—that is to say with contempt when he remains passive, and with derision, hatred and misrepresentation whenever he dares to evince a desire to throw off the yoke of political or social servitude.
>
> (1)

"Connolly's historiographical method," Dobbins writes, "was predicated upon a rereading of traditional narratives of Irish history in order to reclaim that which had been excluded from such narratives: the perspective of the colonized masses, or what would now be called the subaltern" (616). Connolly's effort by no means approaches the theoretical sophistication of South Asian Subaltern Studies, as Dobbins rightly points out; nevertheless, "his work at the very least anticipates such projects" (616).

Connolly's writing also anticipates the work of Edward Said, as suggested in the beginning of this chapter. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said states: "As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (51, my emphasis). Fond of music and an able songwriter himself,[43] Connolly would have surely appreciated a description of his writing as contrapuntal.[44] No one before had attempted to analyze the Irish from the perspective that Connolly takes in *Labour in Irish History*. Thus Lloyd notes:

> Connolly sketches an approach to the historical formation of cultural difference, and projects a revolutionary transformation of cultural difference that colonial capitalism itself produces. . . . Connolly envisages the possibility of revolutionary agencies that emerge out of recalcitrance to, rather than passage through, colonial capitalist modernity.
>
> (345)

This last point is of great significance to postcolonial theory. Furthermore, it underscores Connolly's ability to understand the nature of colonialism and to connect the experiences of Ireland with India and other colonized places as well as his foresight to reject then-prevailing stages theory of socialism.

Home for Good

When the transnational "James Connolly, the Irish Orator of Dublin and New York" delivered the address that had been advertised in the December 1909 edition of the *Daily Arizona Silver Belt*[45]—part of an eleventh-month, coast-to-coast tour—he was well on his way to leaving America for good. Writing to a Scottish comrade in May of that year, he made what Donal Nevin calls "a remarkable admission" (298): Connolly said he was disappointed by the rigidity and the cultist tendencies of socialist movements in both America and Britain. As Nevin puts it, Connolly "virtually conceded that, politically, the previous eight years or so of his life had been in practical terms a waste of effort and that he and his fellow believers in the SLP in America, and particularly in Britain, had in retrospect been wrong, and that a new course needed to be pursued in future" (298). Connolly writes in this letter "that our proper position is in the general Socialist, or rather Labour

movement, as friendly critics and *helpers*, rather than in a separate organization, as hostile critics and enemies" (qtd in Nevin 298, original emphasis). The homesickness that he reported to Mother Jones, coupled with the miseries that his family suffered in America, played a role in this depressive assessment. "I may confess to you that I regard my emigration to America as the great mistake of my life," he wrote a Dublin colleague the same month, adding that "I have never ceased to regret it" (314). What is more, the political situation in Ireland was heating up, and Connolly felt that he could be a lot more effective back in Dublin.

After rejoining his family in New York for a short time, Connolly undertook his last union assignment in the United States, editing Pennsylvania's socialist weekly, *New Castle Free Press*, after its regular editors were arrested on fabricated charges during a tin mill workers' strike. Reeve and Reeve write that the paper's previous issue had contained a racist article that provoked the indignant Connolly to publish, in the first issue under his direction, a report on the exploitation of Black South African workers in the Rand gold mines (202). The job done, Connolly made his final transatlantic crossing on a steamer that landed in Derry on July 25, 1910, soon to be followed by his family. He was in Dublin the next day, setting about the work that would find him in British custody, for the last time, in 1916.

Lethal injury and impending execution put Connolly's name back in the mainstream American media[46] and aroused some US organizations. Among the latter was the Chicago Federation of Labor. In a plea that fell on deaf ears, a Federation resolution reminded British Prime Minister H. H. Asquith "of the action of President Lincoln, who pardoned the great majority of those who took part in the Civil War, and called on him to follow the lead of former noble statesmen."[47] The curious likening of Connolly's rebellion to that of American Southerners decades earlier, along with the suggestion that Asquith might like to make a Lincolnesque gesture, are at the least, indicative of transnational circulations of histories. His final act proved not distinctly Irish after all.

(Irish) (American) (Workers') Post-national Horizon

Paul Gilroy writes that Frederick Douglass embraced "the inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas" (xi) offered by Atlantic crossings. Douglass's literary and political development began with his transformation into the modern subject in Ireland. It continued over the years through travels between the United States and locations as diverse as Germany, Haiti, and Egypt. A half-century later, a very different man, James Connolly, undertook a similar journey—a Green Atlantic journey featuring a pattern of movement, transformation, and relocation not unlike that of Douglass on the Black Atlantic sojourn.

As the "Green Atlantic" label indicates, Connolly's journey also bore resemblance to those of other transatlantic Irish between the mid-nineteenth

and early twentieth centuries. And yet it was quite different. John Hughes's oceanic crisscrossings were intended primarily to serve American nationalist interests and, in so doing, to consolidate power in the institution for which he served as archbishop of New York, the Roman Catholic Church. A few decades after Hughes first arrived, Irish women and men streamed to America in flight from Famine. In large part they, and their US-born children, strove for settlement and conformity—conformity not only with the Catholic Church in America but also with the American nationalist agenda supported by Hughes and others in the Church hierarchy. Connolly, however, never settled. He remained ever the restless activist, agitating against the very same economic, political, and social policies that other Irish espoused as a means to assimilate into the American racial state. In his transatlantic travels Connolly learned of new social, political, and cultural developments. Adapting his thinking accordingly, Connolly expressed insights ahead of his time. His views did not fully set aside ethnic or national identity yet sought common cause outside the confines of those identities. His approach may be seen to anticipate Gilroy's envisaging, in *The Black Atlantic*, of

> the politics of a new century in which the central axis of conflict will no longer be the colour line but the challenge of just, sustainable development and the frontiers which will separate the overdeveloped parts of the world (at home and abroad) from the intractable poverty that already surrounds them . . .
>
> (223)

In short, Connolly's life outlines an alternate vision of the Green Atlantic, one that is intentionally intercultural and transnational.

Connolly's investigation of the relationship between nationalism and colonialism had begun well before he first landed in the United States. In "Socialism and Nationalism," an 1897 contribution to Maud Gonne's Paris-based journal, *L'Irlande Libre*, Connolly wrote what has become one of his more famous passages. "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about organizing the Socialist Republic your efforts will be in vain," he argued. "England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country . . ." (*Socialism* 25). He concluded with a pithy aphorism that exposes imperialist economic exploitation as impervious to barriers thrown up by the nation-state: "Nationalism without socialism—without the reorganization of society on the basis of a broader and more—is only national recreancy" (*Socialism* 25).

Connolly's accomplishments have begun to win recognition. For example, the importance of Connolly's writing to theoretical understandings of decolonization is emerging thanks to the superb work of scholars like Gregory

Dobbins, David Lloyd, Spurgeon Thompson, and Robert J. C. Young, all of whom maintain that revisionists have distorted, or simply disregarded, crucial elements of Connolly's writings. Recently, Connolly has won favorable comparison with the likes of Frantz Fanon and Antonio Gramsci.[48] It is especially important to acknowledge—as perhaps Connolly's greatest contribution to the understanding of colonialism—his innovative fusion of Marxism and anticolonial republicanism. "Connolly, just like Lenin, Mao, or Gramsci helped transform the theoretical articulation of Marxism by adapting it into a specifically national context; what made Connolly unique was the subject position from which he attempted this maneuver," Dobbins writes. Noting that more than "half a century after Connolly's death, Fanon[49] . . . would suggest that one of the key problems facing theorists of decolonization would be that 'everything up to and including the very nature of pre-capitalist society, so well explained by Marx, must be rethought again,' " Dobbins maintains that in his work Connolly, "precisely in his theorization of precapitalist, precolonial modes of production . . . is among the first to produce just such a critical rethinking of Marxism from the standpoint of the colonized" (614). As demonstrated in this chapter, much of Connolly's thinking and writing related to these subjects occurred during his time in the United States.

Connolly benefited from observing the workings of the American racial state firsthand, and he strove to present an alternative that emphasized American citizenship (civil rights) over American nationality (cultural/political exclusion). Unlike many on the American left, Connolly saw nationalism used as a means to divide workers along ethnic and racial lines. He believed that American nationality served for the benefit of the ruling elite to obscure the class system's inherent inequalities. For Connolly, class was everything. Thus when he returned to Ireland, he worked to unite Irish nationalism and socialism so that worker's rights would become entwined with notions of national liberation and the anticolonial struggle. In an article titled "The Irish Flag," published a few weeks before the Easter Rising of 1916, Connolly writes that British colonial power "sets Catholic against Protestant, the Hindu against the Mohammedan, the yellow man against the brown, and keeps them quarrelling with each other whilst she robs and murders them all . . ." (*Labour and Easter Week* 174). British colonialism, then, acts similarly to American nationalism—both seek to divide and conquer. In what would be the final statement of his decision to conjoin socialism and militant nationalism (Deane 3: 731), Connolly insists: "The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour. They cannot be dissevered" (*Labour and Easter Week* 175). Rather catchy, the two sentences often are quoted, invariably in isolation. Yet it is essential to read the rest of the paragraph to avoid a distorted interpretation. Connolly continues:

> Ireland seeks freedom. . . . Labour seeks to make the free Irish nation the guardian of the interests of the people of Ireland, and to secure that

> end would vest in that free Irish nation all property rights as against the claims of the individual, with the end in view that the individual may be enriched by the nation, and not by spoiling of his fellows.
>
> (*Labour and Easter Week* 175)

Far from totalizing ideology, Connolly's Irish nationalism constituted a strategy to preserve the possibility that a true workers' republic might emerge out of the inevitable battle for the liberation of Ireland. Connolly understood that nationalism might be a vehicle for evil as well as for good and so ought never to be seen as an end in itself. Addressing his Irish Citizen Army a week before it joined the 1916 Easter Rising, he warned: "In the event of victory, hold on to your guns, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty" (qtd in Levenson 332).

"Connolly was the first leader in a colonized country to argue for the compatibility of socialism and nationalism," Young explains,

> in doing so producing a position which would not only inspire Lenin and through him lead to the Third International, but which would subsequently become the defining characteristic of the triumphant tricontinental Marxism of the national liberation movements, including that of Fanon, but also Mao, Cabral, and Guevara.
>
> (305)[50]

Such analysis does not gibe with the views of Stephen Coleman, Kieran Allen, and Austin Morgan, all of whom maintain that with age, Connolly drifted rightward. These three comprise just a few of those avowedly liberal or left-wing writers who have done a disservice not only to Connolly's memory but also to the scholarly and political communities. Such misrepresentations bear some responsibility for cultural theorists' neglect of Connolly's work. It is as if his words had decomposed along with his body in his Kilmainham quicklime grave.

* * * *

There is no doubt but that Ireland supplied masses of people who bolstered the US racial state; indeed, that is a central thesis of this book. But that is just part of the story.

Ireland also supplied persons who challenged that state in formation. Relying on political activist skills learned in the Irish anticolonial struggle, these radical sons and daughters of a post-national Green Atlantic formed unions and alliances to fight the injustices and brutality of American capitalism. This chapter has concentrated on one of them, James Connolly. It has mentioned a few of the many others. From the Famine generation, there was Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, the Cork-born labor agitator who had fled to the United States as a young girl.[51] From the post-Famine generation

of Irish Americans, there was Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the labor activist and feminist campaigner who embraced the nickname "Rebel Girl."[52] And from the same turn-of-the-century British colonial state that produced Connolly, there was Liverpool-born Jim Larkin, who sailed the Green Atlantic for the cause of labor. These Irish persons await the full telling of their stories within the transnational context of the Atlantic world.[53] Their voices deserve to be heard above the din.

Notes

1. The quotations are drawn from the facsimile of the proclamation reprinted in Somerset Fry (287).
2. See Ch. 3.
3. Yeats (179–80).
4. For example, see A. Morgan. I challenge such revisionist biographies of Connolly in a much earlier version of this chapter. See O'Neill, "Atlantic James Connolly."
5. On this term, see the introduction and Ch. 1 of this volume as well as the essays collected in O'Neill and Lloyd, *The Black and Green Atlantic* (2009).
6. Said's theory of rereading histories "contrapuntally" (*Culture and Imperialism* 51) is discussed more fully later in this chapter.
7. See the introduction and Ch. 2.
8. Defining the term "syndicalism" has proved quite problematic for scholars over the years. Following the lead of Ralph Darlington, I define it in the broadest sense to signify a revolutionary trade unionism that places an emphasis on direct action or practice. See Darlington (4–7). The definition fits the context in both the United States and Ireland during Connolly's lifetime.
9. First published in 1961, C. Desmond Greaves's *The Life and Times of James Connolly* long was regarded as the most thorough biography of Connolly to date, notwithstanding complaints, levied by Kieran Allen and some others, that is was too uncritical. However, in 2005, Donal Nevin's *James Connolly: "A Full Life"* was published in Ireland. Spanning more than 800 pages of thoroughly researched material, Nevin's work is essential reading for anyone interested in the life and times of Connolly. Also invaluable is Nevin's 2007 work related to Connolly, an edited collection of Connolly's letters and corresponded titled *Between Comrades*.
10. Many Irish republicans then believed that by infiltrating the British Army, they would gain useful experience in both weapons use and military tactics, skills they could later use in the cause of Irish freedom.
11. For the most comprehensive discussion of Connolly's service in the British Army, see Nevin, Ch. 2.
12. The Irish National Land League, founded in Dublin in 1879 by Charles Stewart Parnell and Michael Davitt, agitated for the interests of small tenant farmers against the large landowners and absentee landlords. It received considerable funding from Irish America.
13. She is still listed as a member of this religion in the 1911 Irish census, whereas all other family members are listed as Roman Catholic, facts explored later in this chapter. According to the 1910 US census, she and James were the same age. Both records *available at* ancestry.com. Accessed 07/24/10.
14. "Pro-Boer Demonstration on Streets of Dublin." *The San Francisco Call.* (San Francisco [Calif.]), Dec. 18, 1899. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1899–12–18/ed-1/seq-2/.

15. This 1978 monograph is the only book-length study of Connolly's American period.
16. This description of children's ages in 1903 is derived from the later records—specifically, the 1910 US census—which placed James and the family in The Bronx, New York, and the 1911 Irish census, which found them in Pembroke West, Dublin. In both of these later records, the Connollys had a sixth child, born about 1907, *available at* Ancestry.com. Accessed 07/24/10.
17. Decades earlier, Troy had been the first US city in which Irish-born Father Hugh Quigley served as a pastor. Quigley died there in 1883. See Ch. 5.
18. Despite the criticism of Coleman's book furnished later in this chapter, it should be noted that his was one of only two of the several De Leon biographies that I found that dealt at all adequately with the De Leon-Connolly disagreement. The other exception is Reeve's 1972 book, *The Life and Time of Daniel De Leon*, which devotes an entire chapter to it.
19. These interrelated critiques are explored later in this chapter.
20. Greaves surmises that this 1902 description touched off De Leon's dislike of Connolly (150). That seems more plausible than De Leon biographer Coleman's claim: "If anything, this was a compliment. Connolly had perceived De Leon as an amicable fellow . . ." (109). What is more, in the same letter Connolly followed with a satirical swipe at his perception of the SLP's American chauvinism. "Allow me to say," his letter continues, "that in one respect the SLP is thoroughly American. It has its full share of the American national disease—Swellhead" (qtd in Reeve and Reeve 37). Connolly's genuine aversion to what he saw as left-wing American exceptionalism is discussed later in this chapter.
21. Further delineating the differences in age and apparent vitality are 1902 portrait photographs of each man. De Leon's may be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_De_Leon#mediaviewer/File:Daniel-DeLeon-1902.jpg; Connolly's at http://multitext.ucc.ie/viewgallery/356. Both accessed 07/24/14.
22. A full treatment of this debate may be found in Nevin (230–44).
23. Allen refers to Vandervelde as "Vanderville" (Allen 63).
24. *The Harp*, Connolly's Irish American socialist journal, will be discussed later in this chapter.
25. Priscilla Metscher sums this issue up in the following passage: "Although his views on certain feminist issues may have been narrow, judging by today's standards, far from rejecting feminism, as was the case with contemporary socialist leaders in Britain, Connolly insisted that the economic and political emancipation of women must be an integral part of any socialist program" (158). Although Metscher's comment focuses on the sexism of British socialists, the same point also may be applied Connolly's contemporaries in the American socialist movement.
26. 1911 Irish census, *available at* Ancestry.com. Accessed 07/24/10.
27. It is generally accepted that for most of his life, Connolly was not a practicing Catholic. In today's parlance, he might be called a cultural Catholic—a non-practicing person who believes in some of the Church's teachings and rites but not all. Several days before his execution, Connolly called for a priest and had his confession heard; the next day, he took Holy Communion. Ruth Dudley Edwards remarks: "His motives were unimportant. At the very least, it was a gesture of solidarity with the people for whom he had labored all his life" (142).
28. See Cordery (14).
29. *Ibid*. (quoting Djuna Barnes, *Interviews*, ed. Alyce Barry. Washington, DC: Sun and Moon P, 1985,103.)
30. Born in 1876 in Liverpool, England, of Irish stock, Larkin founded the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, modeling it on the Wobblies' "One Big Union" idea (E. O'Connor, *James Larkin* 22–24). Along with Connolly, who by then was back in Ireland for good, Larkin led the Dublin Lockout of 1913. The

next year Larkin crossed the Atlantic in part to raise funds for the Irish Citizen Army that Connolly would lead two years later in the Easter Rising in Dublin. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's autobiography recalls the first time she met Larkin, when in spring 1914 she heard a knock on her family's Bronx apartment door. "There," she writes, "stood a gaunt man . . . with an Irish accent . . . 'I'm Jim Larkin. James Connolly sent me' " (185–86).

After World War I erupted, Larkin joined the antiwar movement along with other US left-wing political and labor causes. Possessed of a fiery temper and prickly ego, Larkin was convicted of criminal anarchism in 1920 and sentenced to a five- to ten-year sentence at New York's Sing Sing Prison. This ensured him fame in America. Charlie Chaplin came to visit and later sent gifts to Larkin's family in Ireland (E. O'Connor, *James Larkin* 22–24). In 1923, Larkin was pardoned by Governor Al Smith, the first Irish American Catholic elected to New York's highest office and then was deported to Ireland.

31. "Neither in Great Britain nor America can a working class socialist expect common fairness from his comrades if he enters into a controversy with a trusted leader from a class above them," Connolly wrote to a friend on July 22, 1904. He continued: "The howl that greets every such attempt whether directed at a Hyndman in England or a De Leon in America sounds . . . wonderfully alike, and everywhere is but the accents of an army, not of revolutionary fighters but of half-emancipated slaves" (W. K. Anderson 36, ellipsis supplied by Anderson).
32. Connolly did not favor the resolution, arguing that it was impossible to prevent workers from taking political action (Reeve and Reeve 139).
33. In similar vein, De Leon biographer Coleman writes, "Connolly was *at one time* a professed revolutionary socialist" (106, my emphasis). Another revisionist work on Connolly, besides that of Kieran Allen, is Austin Morgan's *James Connolly: A Political Biography* (1988). Morgan argues that Connolly essentially betrayed socialism in favor of nationalism in 1914. This fallacious argument will be addressed later in this chapter.
34. This quote also may be found in Dobbins (614).
35. *Daily Arizona Silver Belt* (Globe, Gila County, Ariz.), Dec. 10, 1909. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn87082863/1909–12–10/ed-1/seq-10/. Accessed 08/02/14.
36. All quotes from *Socialism Made Easy* are from an excerpt reprinted in *Selected Works*, 149–163.
37. For more on the history of syndicalism, see Darlington.
38. See Berresford Ellis's introduction to Connolly's *Selected Writings* (43). For more on Irish syndicalism, see E. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland*.
39. On this as on other matters, Connolly and De Leon disagreed (Nevin 274).
40. The author is Arnold Peterson, former National Secretary of the SLP and a De Leon disciple. The last word in the passage is the only mention of Connolly in Peterson's 290-page volume, *Daniel De Leon: Social Architect* (1941).
41. See Golway, *Machine Made*. See also Nevin (276–77, noting that a large proportion of New York Irish worked in public-sector jobs such as police and fire, and adding that Irish active in the labor movement tended to belong to conservative-leaning craft unions, which adhered to the antisocialist dictates of the Catholic hierarchy).
42. See Ch. 6.
43. In 1907, while still in the United States, he published a book titled *Songs of Freedom by Irish Authors*. According to Reeve and Reeve, both the introduction and most of the contents were written by Connolly himself (175).
44. Said took this term from music. "Contrapuntal," the adjectival form of "counterpoint," refers to a musical technique involving the simultaneous sounding of different musical notes or lines.
45. See the news item set out in the text earlier in this chapter.

46. Consider, for example, this front-page report in one of New York's leading papers, which headline its story about the Rising's end and Connolly's injury with an all-capitals, two-line banner: "FIRE OF BRITISH CANNON FORCED LAST IRISH REBELS TO GIVE UP." *The Evening World*. (New York, N.Y.), May 1, 1916. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030193/1916–05–01/ed-1/seq-1/. Accessed 08/03/14.
47. "Labor Federations Plan to Act for Connolly," *The Day Book* (Chicago, Ill.), May 12, 1916. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045487/1916–05–12/ed-1/seq-12/. Accessed 08/03/14.
48. Lloyd writes: "Connolly foreshadows and anticipates Fanon's revolutionary anticolonial nationalism and its trenchant critique of the limitations of a purely political nationalism" (353). See also Spurgeon Thompson's "Gramsci and Connolly: Anticolonial Intersections."
49. Dobbins refers specifically to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* (40).
50. This quote is also found in Lloyd (349–50).
51. See generally Jones.
52. See generally Flynn.
53. Rosemary Feurer's 2014 lecture, quoted earlier in this chapter, marks a welcome first step toward this end.

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Newspapers/Journals

Daily Arizona Silver Belt
The Harp

8 Conclusion

Famine Irish and the American Racial State centers on the extraordinary transatlantic transformation of the Famine Irish, a term that, for the purposes of this study, refers specifically to the subaltern Irish Catholic. Racialized and considered superfluous to the needs of the British colonial state, the Famine Irish discovered that by crossing the Atlantic they attained "ideal"—that is, white citizenship in the US racial state. Their experiences differed greatly from those of indigenous peoples, persons held in slavery, and free Blacks and Asians, among other racialized and dehumanized people: all these were denied the benefits of full citizenship. Applying comparative methodology, *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* offers a particularly clear demonstration of how racialization and citizenship processes are contingent upon the needs of any given state, and that in the case of the American racial state, the Famine Irish attained ideal citizenship at the expense of racialized others through the collusion of dominant fractions within the US elite and the machinations of a variety of state apparatuses. The following pages draw the main arguments of *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* together under four headings: "Ideal Citizenship in the Fractional US Racial State;" "Archbishop Hughes and the Corporate American Catholic Church;" "The Irish American Catholic Novel and US Nation-Building;" and finally, "Re-crossing the Black and Green Atlantic."

Ideal Citizenship in the Fractional US Racial State

This volume's examination of the Famine Irish quest for ideal American citizenship uncovers a development that American studies scholarship has obscured or even ignored: the state's extensive role in US racialization processes, a role that goes well beyond the making of laws. It does not simply end with the recognition of the Irish people as among the "free white persons" to whom the 1790 Naturalization Act and successor statutes offered a path to US citizenship, a point to which we will return shortly. As Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue, the American state institutionalized "a racial order that drew the color line *around* rather than *within* Europe" (65, original emphasis). For the Irish, the 1790 act constituted a legal status of

inclusion, not exclusion. The Famine Irish arrived in the US at a time when the dominant elements of popular culture—both fictional and nonfictional literature, newspapers, cartoons, theater, music hall, and of course, political discourse—struggled to define American nationality. Nativist efforts to classify Irish, and later on, Jewish and Southern European persons as "non-white" failed in large part because the dominant fraction in the elite needed labor. To be precise, they felt a need not for just any labor, but rather for white labor, to maintain the unequal equilibrium of the US racial state. Fear of Blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, and others considered "non-white" by the state, coupled with rapid expansionist policies driven by laissez-faire capitalism, meant that the notion of what constituted "Americanness" had to be broadened.

Famine Irish migration to the US highlights the dual nature of Americanness: one aspect is legal (citizenship), the other cultural (nationality). Ideal American citizenship is constituted through the conceptual unification of American citizenship and American nationality, and what binds them together is race—specifically, notions of whiteness. In relation to American citizenship as defined by the state, the Famine Irish did not simply "become white," as Noel Ignatiev has famously stated. As a matter of US law, the Irish were white from the start; as a matter of American nationality, however, they had to prove their whiteness. In Britain, the working classes had been divided into skilled/settled and nomadic/unskilled labor—a bifurcation that operated to the detriment of the Irish (Lloyd *Irish Culture*). But in the United States, where workers were divided into free/white and slave/Black labor, the Irish found themselves positioned on the most favorable side of that equation, and they fought to remain there by cultivating cultural acceptance and by making themselves indispensable to the US economy.

As discussed in the introduction to this volume, Nicos Poulantzas's concept of the fractionalized state helps to explain the process. The elite class is rarely unified, according to Poulantzas, but instead comprises competing fractions. Mediating those fractions is the state, whose main function is to maintain the unequal equilibrium of a given society and so facilitate the accumulation of profit. This last point is extremely important. It helps explain how, within the US elite, a dominant fraction composed of manufacturers, large-scale engineers, and other entrepreneurs defeated an also-powerful nativist and Protestant fraction, paving the way for Irish passage into white citizenship and the bolstering of the American racial state. Of course, some in the elite belonged to both fractions. Leland Stanford is but one example. However, for oligarchs like him, the drive for profit trumped everything else. This book's analysis of nineteenth-century California affords a particularly good view of how the US state mediated between the interests of such oligarchs and those of the racial state.

The Irish thrived in the decentralized US state. Aiding them was the fact that certain Irish practices that British colonial policy had considered anathema, such as clandestine organization and violent resistance, were seen as

assets within the US state in formation. The Irish deployed these practices for the benefit of political machineries—and racialized institutions—in Northern cities like Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, in Midwestern centers such as Chicago and St. Paul, in Southern ports like Savannah, Charleston, and New Orleans, and in Western outposts as far away from Ireland as San Francisco. Irish newcomers to America swelled the ranks of police and fire companies, not to mention many other governmental agencies, at local, state, and federal level. As soon as some Irish were admitted to employment, in occupations as varied as domestic service and Stanford's Transcontinental Railroad, they endeavored to entrench public- and private-sector patronage for other Irish workers. California proved an especially fertile location for these practices.

The chapters on the Irish in California are crucial to my overall argument not only because they move the investigation away from the Black/white binary that usually dominates analyses of Irish Americanization processes but also because they present clear examples of how the Famine Irish and their offspring became central to the construction and consolidation of the American racial state. Through various state structures, such as political parties, civil service, armed militias, trade unions, the teaching profession, police, fire, and prison work, the Irish used the clandestine skills learned in colonial Ireland to their advantage in California in a particularly effective manner. The old Protestant Brahmin set was more thinly represented in California, and the Spanish-run Catholic Church was already well established and keen to welcome the Irish. The result was that, as Chapter 6 shows, San Francisco had an Irish Catholic mayor and an Irish Catholic police chief, and California had an Irish Catholic governor and Irish Catholic US senator, well before such things were thought remotely possible back East.

When it comes to demagoguery, few in nineteenth-century America could match Cork-born Denis Kearney, leader of the anti-Chinese movement in California. Kearney worked relentlessly to help cement a place for the Irish within the US racial state at the expense of Asian Americans. However, Chapter 5 demonstrates that the transition to the ideal American citizen for the Golden State's Irish was not entirely smooth. California's WASPs still stung. The masculinization of the Irish woman servant in 1870s San Francisco popular culture illustrates both race/ethnicity- and gender-related anxieties in the US state in formation. When viewed in conjunction with the concomitant feminization of the Chinese male servant, this masculinization reveals the intimate relationship among gender, sexuality, and nationality in the era, one in which conceited notions of rugged male individuality and "true" American womanhood were being worked out in the US cultural imaginary. Irish angst over disparaging portrayals in popular media undoubtedly contributed to their fervent denial of the very humanity of their Chinese neighbors. It also helps explain the scramble of the second-generation Famine Irish to assimilate. One facet of this striving was the fact that Bridget, a name common in Ireland, disappeared from Irish American christening ceremonies

even as it gained pejorative status in US popular culture. So-called respectable occupations, such as teaching, and not presumedly down-market jobs like domestic service, attracted the daughters of Bridget.

Archbishop Hughes and the Corporate American Church

The persons who administered the christenings of the Famine Irish offspring bear special mention in any analysis of the American state in formation. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the Roman Catholic Church constituted a disciplinary institution that worked in tandem with the US state, capitalist, and imperialist structures. Yet until now, little attention has been paid either to this phenomenon or to the man who drove the Americanization of the Catholic Church—Irish-born John Hughes, one of the most effective of nineteenth-century US nationalists. Furthermore, no Americanist has attempted to assess the impact that the transnational, ultramontane Catholic philosophy has had on US politics and legal practices in the long nineteenth century until now, nor has there been any sustained effort to outline the decisive role of the Green Atlantic in the dissemination of this philosophy in America.

Even before he assumed the title of archbishop of New York, Hughes had earned from the US state recognition as the unofficial leader of America's Catholics. This became evident during the US war against Mexico. The Catholicism of the enemy, coupled with the restiveness of Irish Catholic soldiers under the command of mostly Protestant officers, required President James K. Polk to enlist the Catholic Church in the war effort. It was to Hughes, and not Hughes's Church superiors, that Polk turned. Hughes answered his country's call, recruiting Georgetown Jesuits to serve as Catholic chaplains in the US Army. As archbishop of New York, Hughes not only became one of the first Catholic clerics to sermonize before Congress, but also was invited to speak at such solidly Protestant institutions as the University of North Carolina and the annual commemoration of the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth Rock. A pugnacious defender of faith and flock, he was not averse to threatening violence in response to nativist attack. Crucially though, Hughes also knew when a situation required diplomacy. Indeed, his diplomacy extended to work on behalf of the US state in both Catholic Paris and Rome during the American Civil War. Hughes became one of the US Army's most effective recruiting sergeants during those hostilities—notwithstanding his opposition to the movement toward the abolition of slavery. Once an opponent of slavery, he reversed his position as he rose through Church ranks. Battles in the nineteenth-century American culture wars hardened Hughes to the cold realities of the US racial state's hierarchical structures—structures perfectly understandable to an ultramontane, a firm believer in Church and societal hierarchies, like himself. The largely Protestant abolitionist movement became his enemy. With his encouragement, his Irish Catholic flock thrust African Americans and others aside in its quest for ideal American citizenship.

Although for most of his life Hughes embraced Irish nationalism, he jettisoned his Irish political views when they conflicted with interests of the American state. In an unpublished letter to the Dublin Catholic newspaper, *Freeman's Journal*, written in December 1861, eight months after the commencement of the US Civil War, he wrote:

> They told me, when I was a boy, that for five days I was on a social and civil equality with the most favored subjects of the British Empire. These five days would be the interval between my birth and my baptism. The early information of this fact . . . left a sting in my memory that has cost me much to remove.
>
> (qtd in Hassard 18)

But this "sting" received not a mention just seven months later, during a visit to Dublin to lay the cornerstone for the Catholic University of Ireland. On that occasion, Hughes predicted that the British empire soon would need the services of the university's educated, middle-class, Irish Catholic male graduates, "whether in the cabinet or in the field" (*Complete Works* 2: 360).[1] This dramatic turnaround stands out for at least two reasons. First, Hughes had by then engaged in high-level diplomacy on behalf of the US state, so he was acutely aware of President Abraham Lincoln's desire to court the British during the Civil War period. The "sting" from the memory of his second-class status in the British colonial state in Ireland had diminished in direct proportion to his desire to serve his adopted country. Second, this new show of support for the British colonial state in Ireland could be situated neatly within the logic of his ultramontane philosophy—a philosophy that Hughes shared with his Irish counterpart at the cornerstone ceremony, the archconservative archbishop of Dublin, Paul Cullen.

Cullen and Hughes, as representatives of the ultramontane Church on either side of the Green Atlantic, personified the ways that Roman Catholic imperialism flowed through and alongside the capillaries of both British and US state organs. Although supposedly external to the ruling elite in either state, Romanists were recognized by dominant fractions in both London and Washington as useful in working to further state objectives. For the British colonial state in Ireland, the Catholic hierarchy showed promise as a disciplinary authority that might curtail the power of Irish nationalism in ways that mere state repression could not. History would prove the British right in that regard. Prior to the Famine, the Church had been largely ineffectual, especially in the more traditional, Gaelic-speaking areas of Ireland. There, old Celtic ways held sway, as the scholarship of Angela Bourke, Emmet Larkin, and more recently Nicholas Wolf, has shown. The Great Hunger thus represented an opportunity not only for the British to rid themselves of undesirable chaff in Ireland but also for the Catholic Church to exert control over its Irish flock. The Famine decimated places where the Irish language and customs once had worked against Church authority. To capitalize on

this fortuity, the hierarchy adopted a cynical strategy: if the British could argue, as the likes of Lord Trevelyan did, that God sent the Famine to punish the backward, sinful Irish, then so too could the Roman Church.

The transition from a more relaxed form of Celtic Catholicism to the ultra-authoritarian, ultramontane model—the "devotional revolution" as Emmet Larkin labeled it—began well before the Great Hunger, but the mid-nineteenth-century catastrophe spurred the process along in dramatic fashion. London evinced its recognition of the value of Romanism in Ireland when it helped to finance the establishment of the premier Catholic seminary at Maynooth in 1795. Despite formidable opposition in the British Parliament and among powerful Protestant fractions in both England and Ireland, the annual grant to the college was tripled in 1845, just as the potato blight set in (Yates 35–36). This recognition of the Catholic Church as an ideological ally and partner in disciplinary power, by the dominant fraction within the British elite, mirrored maneuvers by the dominant fraction within the US elite. Many, though not all, of the Famine Irish who crossed the Atlantic to America—not to mention the priests who accompanied them—had been disciplined by ultramontane Irish Church.

Because of its extraterritoriality and modus operandi, the Church constituted an early example of a multinational corporation. During the nineteenth century, its corporate hierarchical structure was strengthened considerably by the movement upon the Green Atlantic. An important by-product of this movement—the fact that the same ultraconservative Catholicism championed by Cullen in Dublin was also promoted, with great success, by John Hughes in the United States—attested to the transnational reach of this ecclesiastical strain.

Americanists generally pretermit the significance of the Catholic Church as an ideological state apparatus that worked, effectively, on behalf of the nineteenth-century US state. Overlooked also is the significance of the arguments that the Church hierarchy put forward—arguments that the Church enjoyed what Joshua Barkan calls corporate sovereignty, that is, legally sanctioned immunity from the law. As early as an 1827 meeting in Paris, US and papal envoys to France proclaimed that the Catholic Church had complete jurisdiction over its adherents; unless Rome were to interfere with a state's interests, the state could not intervene in Church affairs. The rise of corporate power in the United States, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, owes much to this arrangement. The ultramontane and corporatist Catholic Church initiated the transubstantiation of the corporation from a thing into a person, a body with legal rights—although one would be hard pressed to find an acknowledgment of this process in any corporate-law US judicial ruling.

The Irish American Catholic Novel and US Nation-Building

Volume 5 of the magisterial *Oxford History of the Novel in English* series, titled *The American Novel to 1870*, appeared in 2014.[2] It contains many fine essays that analyze the novel in relation to various aspects of US

nation-building; however, the authors of almost all the novels discussed in the volume's 600 or so pages are Protestant. With the exception of John Lowe's excellent essay on ethnic novels of the period, the Irish American Catholic novel receives no serious consideration. When Catholicism is discussed, invariably it is done so from the perspective of the Protestant author. This trend extends well beyond this *Oxford History*. With few exceptions,[3] Americanists have investigated nineteenth-century Catholicism solely as perceived through the literary imagination of nativist Protestant writers. Chapters 3 and 4 of this volume, concerning Irish American Catholic literary production, attempt to build on the pioneering scholarship of Charles Fanning to remedy this too-frequent oversight. Even Fanning, it must be said, neglects to give sufficient attention to certain aspects of the Famine Irish American novel. First among these was the extent to which New York Archbishop John Hughes influenced the Famine Irish writers. Other aspects include: the role of the Green Atlantic in disseminating the ultramontane Catholic philosophy that infused Famine Irish American novels; the ideological service that such novels performed for the US state; the extent to which certain novels, particularly from the Civil War onward, claimed whiteness for the Irish at the expense of African American persons and other members of disfavored groups; and the way that second-generation Famine Irish writers marked the completion of the transition of the Irish to ideal American citizenship. Without a full and accurate evaluation of this literature that includes the aspects listed here, one cannot claim a complete and accurate assessment of the role of the novel in US nation-building. Hence I am obligated to outline each of these issues briefly, before a final consideration of the Black and Green Atlantics.

That Hughes was an influence on two Irish-born Americans, Mary Ann Sadlier and Hugh Quigley, is indisputable. Sadlier, a member of Hughes's New York social circle, refers to the archbishop reverentially in novels such as *The Blakes and the Flanagans*. Quigley came under the command of Hughes soon after his arrival in the United States—he was a priest whom Hughes assigned parish work. Like Sadlier, Quigley acknowledged Hughes as an exemplary leader and mentor. What has eluded comment till now, however, is that fact that in writing didactic Catholic novels, both these writers were following Hughes's literary lead. It was an 1828 novella, *The Edifying Death of Andrew Dunn*—written by Hughes—that constituted the very first work to challenge a plethora of Protestant, anti-Catholic, didactic literature produced in the early nineteenth-century America. One thus must assume that the mentor-archbishop shared his lone foray into novel writing with his mentees or, at the very least, that he discussed with them its plot and aims. Hughes was acutely aware of the power of literature to shape both reader and society at large. Ideologically speaking, novels could unite the disciplinary aims of both Church and state. Given that such a unity was part of his mission to Americanize Catholicism, he would have been keen to encourage other Catholic literary endeavors. Quigley and Sadlier, among others, would not disappoint him.

Quigley and Sadlier were both proponents and products of the ultramontanist Roman Catholicism, which crested the waves of the Green Atlantic all the way to the United States, where it was nurtured under Hughes's leadership. Evidence of support for the ultramontanist Church, and its associated political conservativism, is not difficult to find within the novels of both writers. Both Sadlier and Quigley, for example, layered their writing with a Catholic capitalist ethic that turns Max Weber's famous thesis in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* on its head. Sadlier and Quigley urge their readers to work hard, to be prudent, and to stay close to family, church, and parochial school. They advocate complete submission to authority, both spiritual and temporal. In particular, they emphasize the ultimate declaration of support for capitalist hegemony—that Catholics who suffer stoically in this life will be rewarded in the next.

Typically, the heroes and heroines of Famine Irish literature migrate to the United States, endure ill effects as a consequence, and then return to Ireland for a happy, but often wistful, ending. Such returns are strictly metaphorical, of course. Famine Irish writers well knew that actual return to Ireland was out of the question for the vast majority of their working- to middle-class readers. What the return to Mother Ireland in the novel actually signifies, therefore, is a return both to the Mother Church and to the family values of its ultramontane, Irish American leadership. As Fanning maintains, the novels of authors like Hughes, Sadlier, and Quigley amount to guides for survival in an infidel world. These authors preached that by staying and situating themselves within the folds of a sort of contemporary holy trinity—Church, family, and school—Irish Catholic immigrants could construct a shield against the evil temptations of American life. Such inward-looking admonishments appear defensive on the surface. But in actuality, I argue, they demonstrate the way these novels promote the aims and objectives of US nation-building through ardent support for ideological state apparatuses like the aforementioned "trinity."

In Frederich Engels's materialist history of the family, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, the rise of the institution is linked directly to the rise of the class system and the development of private property. Written in 1883, twenty-one years after Sadlier wrote *The Old and the New*, and six years after Fr. Bernard O'Reilly published *The Mirror of True Womanhood*, Engels's work outlines how these societal developments led to a dramatic increase in the oppression of women through the development of the patriarchy under capitalism. The family became a construct of the power structure that mirrored not "true womanhood" but the patriarchal power structure of both Church and state, both of which emphasized the subservience of women to men. Hughes harbored no doubt about this. As noted in Chapter 1, he sermonized: "A family is itself a State: it is a corporation in which there is form and dominion, and order . . ." (*Complete Works* 1: 355). Like the state and the Church-run parochial school, the paterfamilias could back up his authority, for it was he who held, within the family, the

monopoly of legitimate violence. Fanning rightly points out that Sadlier and Quigley wrote novels that catered to a traumatized Famine Irish American community insular in outlook; nevertheless, his emphasis on their role in producing didactic Catholic literature obscures the profound significance of their novels for US nation-building as well as Catholic Church-building. For Hughes, the two were inextricably intertwined.

Early on, Famine Irish Catholic novelists concerned themselves with proving the worthiness of the Irish Catholic for ideal American citizenship and middle-class respectability. Support for the nascent parochial schools system and the Church's hierarchal power structure were their prime concerns. Racial anxieties barely surfaced until the Civil War and the publication of Sadlier's *Bessy Conway* in 1861. This novel contains a series of racial slurs and an unflattering depiction of an African American servant, whom Sadlier names Wash. The following year, Sadlier published *Old and New*, in which she ridiculed the twin perceived threats: slavery abolition and women's rights. Both are portrayed as harmful Protestant ideas to be resisted at all costs. Sadlier's support for the racial state, as well as her promotion of the patriarchal social structures, gelled with views expressed both by Hughes and by subsequent American Catholic literature, written by or aimed at second-generation Irish Famine readers. Father Bernard O'Reilly's 1877 work mentioned a little earlier, *The Mirror of True Womanhood: A Book of Instruction for Women in the World*, provides a classic example of how the Catholic Church urged, as a family value, women's subservience to men. O'Reilly's next manual—aimed at the Catholic man and titled *True Men as We Need Them. True Men*—reinforces not only patriarchy but also the class system. To cite one example, *True Men* admonishes workingmen to obey their employers and not be swayed by outside agitators.

O'Reilly's works were transitional, drawing in both the Famine Irish and their offspring. In contrast was Maurice Egan, an author also inexplicably overlooked by the *Oxford History of the Novel in English* series. Egan's highly popular writings catered fully to American-born Catholics who yearned to shed their Irishness as they traveled the road to respectable lives, lived behind the lace curtains of middle-class homes. Complementing Egan's success as a writer were his distinguished academic career and his appointment, by his friend Teddy Roosevelt, as US ambassador to Denmark. There, he furthered US colonial ambitions by facilitating the purchase of the Danish West Indies, now known as the US Virgin Islands. Egan—his Catholic novels and short stories and his stellar career—exemplify the advanced stage of Irish Americanization, which bears no trace of jettisoned, undesirable Irish traits.

Recrossing the Black and Green Atlantic

To present any comparison between the Black Atlantic and the Green Atlantics can leave one open to misinterpretation. For example, some students arrive for the first class of my *Black and Green Atlantic* course at the

University of Georgia, harboring a fundamental misunderstanding about what the course is about. The course subtitle, *Crosscurrents of the African and Irish Diasporas*, in particular, leads some to conflate "comparison" with "equivalency." Part of the pleasure in teaching this course lies in showing these students what a comparative, transnational approach to racialization processes can actually reveal. *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* also maintains that such a transnational and comparative methodology can expose the folly of exceptionalist modes of thinking that have been rooted within the often stifling confines of national boundaries—whether those boundaries are American or Irish.

My own scholarship has benefitted from a more thorough comparison of the Black and Green Atlantics. In an essay written several years ago ("Transatlantic"), I employed Giorgio Agamben's concept of "bare life" to theorize Famine Irish existence. Other scholars, such as Gerry Kearns and David Nally, have used Agamben in similar ways. This is not surprising perhaps, given the roles of the British in racializing the subaltern Irish and in orchestrating the biopolitical management of Irish life and death. Mid-nineteenth-century British leaders allowed the Irish, whom they called "subjects" of their queen, to starve to death during the Great Hunger, even as they exported from Ireland enough food to feed the people of that island. No less a figure than Thomas Malthus deemed Irish peasantry "redundant." Many survivors of the Irish catastrophe were forced to emigrate—the poorest and most desperate among them in vessels later labeled "coffin ships." These people had no recourse to the law; in fact, the British colonial state passed a series of so-called Coercion Acts, not only to aid eviction and accelerate the death rate but also to ensure that persons who resisted were punished mercilessly. Yet in developing the comparative analysis of the Black and Green Atlantic further for this monograph, I came to see the theoretical imprecision of my earlier pronouncement that the Famine Irish represented "bare life."

Britain's racialization of the Irish transpired in direct proportion to Irish resistance to the British imperium. What would have happened if, say, the Irish were to have acquiesced to English rule—as had their fellow Celts, the Welsh, following the Norman Conquest? What if all the Irish chieftains had succumbed completely to England's modernity discourse, and in exchange for the accumulation of personal wealth, agreed to abolish communal ways of living, and dispatch the poorest of their clans to the four corners of the Earth in the service of Britannia? How would the British have responded to the Great Hunger if the majority of Irish Catholics had acquiesced to the religious dictates of the English Reformation? In short, if they had surrendered passively to the colonizer's authority, would the Irish have been treated differently? Of course we cannot know the answers to these improbable questions. My point, though, is this: through British state structures, Irish people might have detected a path, however difficult or unpalatable, that would have led them out of their racialized position. This is because, even in Britain, they possessed a latent whiteness that, like the Irish in Rudyard Kipling's

Kim, would have allowed them to partake of the British imperial enterprise. As events in fact transpired, that same latent whiteness allowed the Famine Irish, despite great hardships, access to the privileges of ideal American citizenship at the expense of others deemed unworthy of it. It is little wonder, then, that in her remarkable 1861 memoir, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, escaped slave Harriet Jacobs was provoked to declare: "I would ten thousand times rather that my children should be half-starved paupers of Ireland than to be the most pampered among the slaves of America" (28).

As established in Chapter 1 of this volume, the British racialized Irish poverty. However, Irish persons of means, Catholics included, functioned quite well within the colonial state, provided they accepted its validity and, not least, paid its taxes. A full acceptance that included religious conversion afforded these Irish persons full British citizenship. On the other end of the scale, subaltern status, coupled with the rejection of the British colonial state's modernizing discourse, transformed Irish people into mere "human encumbrances" of little value to the state. In the United States during the time of the Irish Famine, however, neither class nor religion could afford members of certain other groups humanity in the eyes of the law. As Abdul JanMohamed has shown, African American men and women, for example, embodied bare life before sovereign power—whether that power emanated from the state, or from slaveholder, or slave catcher, or white rapist, or lynch mob. For Gold Rush Asian immigrants, too, money could buy neither citizenship nor basic human rights in the US racial state.

Bare life in nineteenth-century America, whether under slavery's legal structures or Jim Crow, is an absolute from which there is no possibility of escape, unless, like Frederick Douglass, one manages physically to remove oneself from the jurisdiction of the sovereign power that decrees bare life in the first place. Hence, the legal regime of the British colonial state in Ireland cannot be compared with the US racial state without acceptance of this fundamental difference—the US state produced bare life within its polity; the British colonial state in Ireland did not. This is not to downplay in any way the inhumane policies of the British state in Ireland during the Great Hunger. Rather, it is to describe these policies with as much theoretical accuracy as possible. A comparative approach to racialization processes in the Black and Green Atlantic delivers such insights, with implications not just for Irish studies but also for American studies.

Frequently, the history of the Irish in America either is situated at the margins of Irish studies or subsumed under a one-size-fits-all "whiteness studies" subheading in American studies, as if it were a message in a bottle whose interest to Americanists diminishes with every eastward pitch on the North Atlantic drift. *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* resists either relegation. The experiences of the Irish—in particular, those of the nineteenth-century transatlantic Famine Irish in two quite different racial states—shed new light on how states operate. Study of their Green Atlantic experiences thus affords Americanists a way to think about American

state racialization processes in a comparative and transnational frame that viewed alongside the Black Atlantic, provides a more worldly understanding the relationship between state and race. Douglass's journey to Ireland in 1845 helps bring this into view.

Chapter 1 opens with Douglass on Cape Cod. We follow him across the Atlantic to Ireland just as the Irish Famine is setting in and just as Famine Irish transatlantic migration is about to begin on a massive scale. The transatlantic ships of the Black Atlantic are about "the circulation of ideas and activists "(4), according to Gilroy. Thus "they need to be thought of as cultural and political units rather than abstract embodiments" (16–17). The meshing of ideas and activists, of culture and politics, was evident during Douglass's Black Atlantic trip on the *Cambria*. It continued throughout his subsequent stay in Ireland and, indeed, throughout his peripatetic life. In contrast, the near voicelessness of the mid-nineteenth-century Irish subaltern allows little more than speculation about what ideas, what activism, might have circulated among the Famine refugees who struggled to survive the Green Atlantic of the coffin ships. Once arrived in America, Irish emigrants, victims of modernity in Ireland, enlisted immediately in the unfolding narrative of modernity's American success story. Like the ships on which they traveled, the Irish and Douglass went in different directions. Douglass moved toward development of an individual selfhood, the fulfillment of a Black modernity that ran counter to prevailing Enlightenment discourse, even as many Irish moved toward assimilation into a white American culture.

However, figures like James Connolly disrupt the process of Famine Irish American assimilation and cooption by the US racial state. Illustrating this fact is the final chapter of this volume. It not only exposes the existence of forms of resistance to the preceding process that are vital to a complete understanding of the Green Atlantic but also explains why it is useful to look at these forms alongside those of the Black Atlantic. When Douglass writes in Ireland, "I breathe the air and lo! the chattel become the man," he acknowledges his new status as the modern Black subject. In so doing, he destabilizes the racist roots of modernity's discourse. Connolly's Green Atlantic, like the Black Atlantic, may be defined as much by movement, by processes of encounter, and by the circulation of bodies and ideas, competition, and solidarity, than by settlement and assimilation. Both Connolly's political activism and his writings challenge the discourse of modernity. His politics confound the notion of a linear, homogenous, empty time, part and parcel of the whole discourse of progress under capitalism.

Douglass and Connolly operate as bookends to the text of *Famine Irish and the American Racial State*. The accounts of both present challenges. In a sense, both posit counter-modernities that run parallel to and create ruptures in modernity's discourse. They deserve consideration in tandem. The life stories of Douglass and Connolly point to possible futures—based on cooperation over obstruction and on solidarity over discord—post-national futures that do not distort the past to justify the present.

Notes

1. For more on the mutually beneficial relationship between the British Colonialism and the Catholic Church, see both of Rafferty's monographs.
2. Edited by J. Gerald Kennedy and Leland S. Person.
3. See works by Gjerde, and Giemza, for example.

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